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ŚRĪKAṆṬHACARITAM—A STUDY

by

Dr. Bhagavatprasad Natvarlal Bhatt
M.A., Ph.D.



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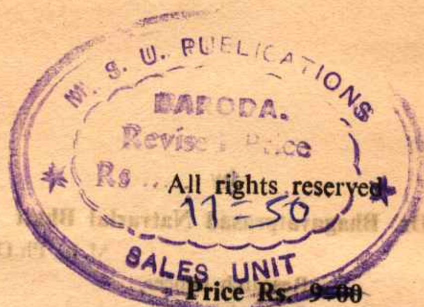
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M. S. University of Baroda
BARODA
1973

First Edition
Copies 500
1973



Price Rs. 9-00

Printed by Shri B. M. Shah, Manager, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Baroda-1 and published by Shri K. A. Amin, Registrar, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda, September 1973.

FOREWORD

The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda is publishing a series of publications called " M. S. University of Baroda Research Series". In this series, we are publishing selected research works of high quality prepared by the teachers and the students of this University.

The Ph.D. Thesis entitled "Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam—A Study" by Dr. B. N. Bhatt, Research Officer, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda is published as fourteenth volume of this series.

K. A. Amin
Registrar

BARODA.
30th July, 1973.

PREFACE

Maṅkha's Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam (= Śc.) is one of the difficult poems in Sanskrit, comparable to the poem of Māgha. Moreover, its study from Critical and Cultural point of view has been neglected so far.

Excepting only one translation in German (by Elizabeth Kreyenborg—Der XXV Gesang des Śrīkaṇṭhacaritaṃ des Maṅkha, Ein Beitrag zur altindischen Literaturgeschichte. Diss. Münster 1, W. 1929) and that too of the twenty-fifth canto only of this poem no other translation in any other language is available. What to talk of a Critical study of the poem ? An intensive study of this poem where all the questions regarding the poem and its author as well as cultural gleanings from the work are discussed was a long felt desideratum.

This is my humble attempt to make good this deficit.

I have divided my work into two parts—the first dealing with the text and the author while the second with the cultural and literary study of the poem.

I have also discussed some controversial topics such as the genuine works of the author etc.

I have attempted to give a picture of the society as reflected in the Śc. which is a source of useful information for the cultural history of medieval India.

It is in this way that my humble contribution tends to the general advancement of knowledge.

In the preparation of the present work, I have drawn upon all the available literature in print. Acknowledgements have been fully made in all the cases and a complete bibliography has been also attached.

I have studied the text, commentary and the relevant literature and have tried to express my own views in the light of this Critical study. As shown above the study of Śc. from Critical and Cultural point of view was taken up for the Ph.D. degree under the guidance of Dr. A. N. Jani, Professor in Sanskrit, M. S. University and this work was approved of for the award of the said degree in 1965 by the M. S. University of Baroda. Now it is presented with additions and modifications necessitated by further research.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to the persons who have helped me in this my undertaking.

First of all, I thank my preceptor Dr. A. N. Jani, Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, M. S. University of Baroda, for his able guidance and valuable suggestions without whose constant goading and inspiration this

work would not have come into existence. In spite of heavy pressure of work, he spent his precious time in discussing various debatable points connected with the thesis and has taken keen interest in going through every detail. Not only that but in the matter of publication of this work it was he who took the initiative and brought it to its present form. I owe to him more than what I can express by words.

My thanks are due to my friend Dr. S. G. Kantawala, Reader in Sanskrit, M. S. University of Baroda, for drawing my attention to an important article on the theme of this poem and for making some valuable suggestions.

I am highly grateful to my referees Prof. Dr. V. Raghavan, Prof. R. B. Athavale and Prof. J. T. Parikh for making valuable suggestions. Their useful suggestions have helped me a great deal to make improvements in my work. I am also thankful to Drs. B. J. Sandesara, U. P. Shah, R. N. Mehta, Shri J. S. Pade Shastri, Shri Lalachand Gandhi and Shri J. P. Thakar for their suggestions and kind help.

I am also highly thankful to the authorities of the M. S. University of Baroda for publishing this work in the M. S. University Research Series.

My thanks are due to The Manager, M. S. University of Baroda Press for executing the printing etc. of this work in an excellent manner.

Baroda
9-3-1972.

B. N. Bhatt

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB.	:	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.).
Bhā.	:	Bhāgavatapurāṇa, ed. by T. R. Krishnacharya, Kumbhakonam.
Bhāg.	:	Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Gītā Press, Gorakhpur.
BhāP.	:	Bhāgavatapurāṇa (NSP. ed.).
BORI.	:	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Br.	:	Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed.).
CC.	:	Catalogus Catalogorum by Aufrecht, Leipzig, Vol. 1, 1891; Vol. II, 1896 ; Vol. III, 1903.
Comm.	:	Commentary.
Commr.	:	Commentator.
Ed.	:	Edition, Edited.
GOS.	:	Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
HSL	:	History of Sanskrit Literature.
HV.	:	Harivaṃśa.
JBRAS	:	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
LgP.	:	Liṅgapurāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed.).
MārP.	:	Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (Bibliotheca Indica ed.).
Mbh.	:	Mahābhārata.
MM.	:	Mahāmahopādhyāya.
MP.	:	Matsyapurāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.).
MS.	:	Manuscript.
MW.	:	Sanskrit English Dictionary by M. Monier-Williams.
NSP.	:	Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay.
O. I.	:	Oriental Institute, Baroda.
PmP.	:	Padmapurāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed.).
Report	:	Detailed report of a tour in search of Sk. MSS., made in Kashmir, Rajaputana and Central India by G. Bühler, Extra no. of JBRAS, Bombay, 1877.
RM.	:	Rāmāyaṇa (NSP. ed.) seven Kāṇḍas.
ŚB.	:	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Ed. Weber).

Śc. : Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam.

Sk. : Sanskrit.

SkP. : Skandapurāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press Ed.). Seven Khaṇḍas.

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SSV. : Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva (Present work not earlier than 15th Cent. A.D.). Ed. Dr. Peterson and Pt. Durgāprasāda. Education Society Press, Bombay, 1886 A.D.

Subhā. : Subhāṣitāvali.

SUK. : Saduktikarṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa (1206 A.D.).

ŚVP. : Śivapurāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed.). Seven Saṃhitās.

TC. : Triennial Cat. of MSS. collected for the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol. I, by M. Rangacharya and S. Kuppuswāmī Śāstri (3 parts, 1913); Vol. II to Vol. V, by S. Kuppuswāmī Śāstri (Each in 3 parts 1917-1932); Vol. VI, by S. Kuppuswāmī Śāstri, 1935; Vol. VII, by S. Kuppuswāmī and P. P. S. Śāstrī, 1937; Vol. VIII, by P.P.S. Śāstrī, 1939.

Vā. : Vāyupurāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press Ed.).

Vi. : Viṣṇupurāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press ed.).

Vikra° : Vikramāṅkadevacaritam of Bilhaṇa, Vols. I-III ed. Pt. Vishwanath Shastri Bharadwaj, The Banaras Hindu University, 1958, 1962 & 1964.

VP. : Vāmanapurāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press Ed.). (i) Pūrvārdha; (ii) Uttarārdha.

यो देवानां प्रभवश्चोद्भवश्च
विश्वाधिपो रुद्रो महर्षिः ।
हिरण्यगर्भं पश्यत जायमानं
स नो बुद्ध्या शुभया संयुनक्तु ॥

श्वेताश्वतर उपनिषद् ४.१२

CHAPTER I

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

Maṅkha's Śrīkaṇṭhacarita (Śc.)[1] is one of the Mahākāvyas of the Sanskrit literature and deals with the famous Paurāṇik story of Śiva's overthrow of Tripura in twenty-five (actually twenty-four) cantos bearing significant names. These names give us good idea about the subject matter of each canto in an aphoristic manner and are given below along with the cantowise summary.

Canto I

Namaskāravarṇanam

(Salutation)

The poem commences with usual prayer for benediction which occupies the whole of the first canto. It is not only Lord Śiva who is prayed to by the poet but His entire paraphernalia is also prayed to by him in order to seek blessings. Thus we come across the prayer of the fire dwelling in the third eye of Lord Śiva (1-5). Next invoked are the fire in the form of an arrow of Lord Śiva (6), Lord Śiva whom the Ganges as if circumambulates even though situated on His head (7), the loud laughters of Lord Śiva (8), the crescent moon (9), the body of Lord Śiva (10), and Lord Śiva Himself (11-12). Again the fire in the third eye of Lord Śiva is invoked (13). Then are invoked Lord Śiva (14-17), the moon-like face of the goddess (18), the foot of Caṇḍikā lifted up at the commencement of dancing (19), the skull in the hand of Caṇḍī (20), the lotus which is an abode of Lord Brahmā (21-22), the white water-pot of Brahmā (23), Lord Brahmā (24-25), the body of Lord Viṣṇu (26), Lord Viṣṇu (27-31), Goddess of wealth (32-33), Goddess of Speech (34-37), Lord Gaṇapati (38-40), Lord Kārtikeya (41-42) and Cupid (43). Then the deliberation on the devotion of Lord Śaṅkara is extolled (44). Again invoked are the body of Lord Viṣṇu (45), the raised up foot of the Goddess Caṇḍikā at the start of dancing (46), and the face of Pārvatī (47). Thereafter invoked are the Ardhanārīśvara form of Lord Śiva (48), the fire in the third eye of Śiva (49), Lord Śiva (50), the chest of Lord Śiva (51), the row of nails of Lord Śiva (52-53), the bull of Lord Śiva (54), and the Spring season (55). In the last stanza the poet says that unlike other poets who praise kings he praises Him (Śiva) to whom even Indra used to bow down (56).

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1 The text used is ' Maṅkha's Śrīkaṇṭhacarita ' with the commentary of Jonarāja, edited by MM. Durgāprasāda & Parab, 2nd ed. (NSP. Bombay) 1900.

Canto II

Sujanadurjanavarṇanam

(Description of the Good and the Bad persons)

At the outset the poet praises discriminating poets (1). Then the bad persons are censured (2-3). Thereafter the origin and the qualities of a poem are described (4-7). Next the plagiarists are censured (8). Now the poet says that flaw can be easily detected in pure speech (9). Next he states that rogues cannot find fault in the speech of the best of poets (10). Then it is stated that recondite speech lends charm to the expression (11) and that only a knower of literature can appreciate the grace of a poem (12). Thereafter the good qualities of expression are described (13-15). Again bad persons are censured (16-18). But the adverse criticism of a lowly person purifies a composition (19). Even though filled with kindness internally some good persons exhibit harshness outwardly (20). Then the season Hemanta is likened to the Kali age (21). Thereafter it is stated that the dogs in the form of bad persons have one good quality viz. barking towards the plagiarists (22). For the third time bad persons are censured (23-25). But a wicked man cannot criticise a flawless work (26). That scholarship and poetic skill should accompany each other is mentioned next (27). It is due to the blessings of the goddess of Speech that a poem flashes (28-29). Then the requisites of a poem are mentioned (30-34). Mere study of the various sciences cannot yield the secret of the speech of a great poet (35). It is futile to try to compose a poem without the study of its characteristics (36). Stern examination is necessary to distinguish between an ordinary and an extraordinary poem (37). A comingling of erudition and sentiment is desirable in a poem (38). Then the best poet is likened to an emperor (39). A composition full of unfathomable sentiment makes a poet-laureate (40). According to the poet Vaidarbhī is the best style (41). Then are mentioned the defects of a poem (42). Again a poet-laureate is praised (43-45). Then a lesser poet is denounced (46). Thereafter the good qualities of a poem are described (47-51). Next a good poet is praised (52). Now the poet praises himself (53) and mentions that there is not a single impartial critic (54). Again he praises a poet-laureate (55). Then the faults of a poem are enumerated again (56). At last the poet reiterates that genius comes into existence as a result of the grace of the goddess of Speech (57-58).

Canto III

Deśavaṃśādivarṇanam

(Description of the country and the pedigree)

Now the poet gives us a fine description of Kashmir of his times (1-20). Then follows the description of the city called Pravara (21-30). Thereafter

information about the grandfather (31-34), and about the life of the father of the poet is supplied (35-44). Then information about poet's eldest brother Śṛṅgāra (45-46 and 50-51), and about the power of king Sussala is supplied (47-49). Next follows information about poet's another brother viz. Bhṛṅga (52-55), about his third brother Alaṅkāra (56-62) and about the poet himself (63-66). Then the last days and the death of the poet's father are described (67-70). With the passage of time the power of discrimination of the sons helped them to uproot the sorrow caused by the death of their father (71). Once upon a time the poet was sleeping in the terrace of the house during the night on the eleventh of a fortnight (72). In dream, his father appeared before him in the form of Harihara and began to speak to him (73-74). He ordered the poet to compose a work in praise of Lord Śiva (75). After having ordered the poet he disappeared along with the moon (76). In the morning the poet work up (77). Thereupon the poet whose devotion was increasing on account of the encouraging words of his father began to compose a work in praise of Lord Śiva (78).

Canto IV

Kailāsavarṇanam

(Description of the mountain Kailāsa)

The whole of this canto is devoted to the description of the mountain Kailāsa (1-64).

Canto V

Bhagavadvarṇanam

(Description of the Lord)

This whole Sarga is devoted to the description of Lord Śiva with all His paraphernalia detailed especially in mythology (1-57).

Canto VI

Sādhāraṇavasantavarṇanam

(Description of the spring season)

This Sarga describes in details the advent of the spring season. The effects of it on men and birds and beasts as also on insects, plants and vegetation and even on the gross elements like earth, water, fire, air, and ether are described (1-74).

Canto VII

Dolākrīḍāvarṇanam

(Description of the swinging game)

Once upon a time when spring season was in full swing, Lord Śiva accompanied by His spouse went out to see the beauty of the mountain Kailāsa (1-8).

Lord Śiva describes the beauty of the spring season to Pārvatī (9-27). Female go-betweens describe love-lorn state of the heroines to the heros individually (28-36). Śiva continues the description of the vernal beauty (37-43). At the time of Śiva's describing the vernal beauty to Pārvatī the son of Śilāda i.e. Nandī urges Śiva as follows (44-45). Nandī briefly describes the beauty of spring and requests Śiva that Pārvatī should be allowed by Him to mount a swing to which Śiva consents (46-52). Śiva requests Pārvatī to mount the swing (53-60). Pārvatī honours the words of Śiva and mounts the swing (61). The swinging of Pārvatī is described (62-66).

Canto VIII

Puṣpāvacayavarṇanam

(Description of flower-plucking)

The various means employed to remedy the fatigue of Pārvatī caused by swinging for a long time are described (1-12). When by the employment of cooling measures Her fatigue was removed Pārvatī began the plucking of flowers (13). The plucking of flowers by various celestial damsels is described (14-50). The limbs of celestial damsels, decorated by flowers are described (51, 52, 54, 56). The condition of creepers and trees after the plucking off of flowers from them is described (53, 55).

Canto IX

Jalakrīḍāvarṇanam

(Description of water-sport)

The celestial damsels were perspiring on account of plucking of flowers (1-4, 7). In the meanwhile the Sun reached the zenith (5-6). The celestial ladies went to Mānasa lake to enjoy plunging in its waters (8). They saw the lake with curiosity (9). They sat on the top of the stone-slabs to remove their fatigue (10-11). They were seen in the waters as reflections (12). Their reflections in the water of the lake made them look like aquatic females coming out (13). They vanquished the pride of the swans on the bank by their gait (16). Their glances also became playful towards the foam that resembled their laughter (17). The mass of resounding waves as it were blew the auspicious conch-shell by the foam in its front at the time of the bath of Pārvatī (18). The buds of Aśoka flowers abandoned their braid of hair which was moved before plunging into water (19). The beauty of the lake was enhanced by the proximity of the celestial damsels before their plunging in its waters (20-26). The divine ladies bathed in the waters of the lake (27-44). Lord Śiva along with Pārvatī came of His own accord to the shore of the lake on account of interest in water-sport (45). The lake appeared like a widower in proximity of Śiva (46). However, the lake acquired as it were Sāyujya with Lord Śiva at that

time (47, 49). The reflection of the fire in the third eye of Śiva in the waters of the lake appeared like the submarine fire (48). Lord Śiva and Pārvatī plunged into its waters and bathed themselves (50, 52, 56). The lake worshipped both Śiva and Pārvatī in its own way (51, 53-55).

Canto X

Sandhyāvarṇanam

(Description of the evening twilight)

The Sun after traversing the firmament approached the setting mountain (1-8). The orb of the Sun gradually declined under the horizen of the Western ocean (9-19). The abhisārikās started to approach their beloveds (20, 26-28). The Cakravākas began to shed tears at the time of the spread of darkness (21). The darkness troubled those who were separated (22). At the time of evening-dance of Śiva the water of the ocean increased as it were by the water of the river Ganges on His head (23). The lamps after having shattered the darkness made it more dense (24). The lamps in the houses began to burn as it were the beloveds of travellers (25). The effects of darkness were found on lotuses (29), on creatures (30), on day-lotuses and night-lotuses (32), on the Eastern quarter (33), and on the stones lying on the Eastern mountain (34). Darkness in the form of bees stretched out its limbs in the middle of full blown night-lotuses (31). The vegetables extended their hands in the form of lustre to embrace their lord viz. the moon (35). The moonlight and darkness came in conflict with each other (36-40). Then there was the moon-rise (41-61).

Canto XI

Candravarṇanam

(Description of the moon)

The orb of the moon is described (1-12). The lovers praise their beloveds (13-24). Then follows the description of the Abhisārikās on their way (25-32), followed by the description of the Jyotsnābhisārikās (33-41). Next follows the eulogy of the maidens by their lovers (42-51). The ladies censure the moon (52-62). The maidens eulogize the moon (63-73). Śṛṅgāra is described as an elephant (74). The constellations are represented as the bunch of flowers of the desire-fulfilling tree viz. Śṛṅgāra (75).

Canto XII

Candravarṇanam

(Description of the moon continued)

Kāma equips himself (1-12). Rati entreats Kāma out of love (13-24). The female messengers advise the lovers (25-35). The agitation of the sea is described (36-55). Benediction is sought from the moon (56-73). Then

follows the eulogy of the moon (74-86). The heroine rebukes a lady messenger whose debauchery becomes manifest to her (87-93). Then the effects of the moon-rise are described (94-97).

Canto XIII

Prasādhanavarṇanam

(Description of the toilette)

In this canto, the decoration of the various limbs of the damsels of heaven by ornaments, unguents, flowers, fumigation and apparel is described (1-52).

Canto XIV

Pānakelivarṇanam

(Description of wine-drinking)

In this canto, the drinking of wine by the denizens of heaven is described at length (1-68).

Canto XV

Krīḍāvarṇanam

(Description of amorous sports)

In this canto, the amorous sports of the denizens of heaven in company of their spouses are described in details until the day-break (1-50).

Canto XVI

Prabhātavarṇanam

(Description of the morning)

At the time preceding the day-break, the bards sang the panegyric to wake up Śiva (1-56). Lord Śiva woke up (57). The morning thoroughly worshipped Lord Śiva (59).

Canto XVII

Parameśvaradevasamāgamavarṇanam

(Description of the meeting of the supreme deity with the gods)

Lord Śiva entered the assembly of gods (1-5). Lord Śiva presided over the assembly (6-16). The gods eulogized Lord Śiva (17-33). Lord Śiva told the gods that their loss of courage indicated an all-pervading calamity (34-45). Brahmā informed Śiva how the Tripurāsuras got the boon from Him and how they were troubling the three worlds (46-66). On hearing it the retinue of Śiva got angry (67).

Canto XVIII

Gaṇakṣobhavarṇanam

(Description of the agitation of the troop)

The whole of this canto describes in details the agitation of the members of the troop of Śiva individually (1-61).

Canto XIX
Gaṇodyogavarṇanam
(Description of the activities of the troop)

The transformations on the bodies of the members of the troop of Śiva exhibited their wrath (1-8). Śiva waved His right hand and benumbed the noise of His followers (9). Śiva began to address them (10-12). Śiva advised the gods to fight with the Tripurāsuras since the gods were the partial incarnations of Śiva Himself (13-26). The gods explained their own inability to vanquish the Tripurāsuras and again requested Śiva to destroy them (27-39). Śiva ordered the gods to prepare a suitable chariot for Him in order to destroy their enemies (40-43). The gods were satisfied and overjoyed and confided in the stability of their godhood (44-46). By echoing of the noise of the troop of Śiva Kailāsa as it were blew the auspicious conch at the time of their march (47). At that time inauspicious omens appeared in the Tripuras (48-66). While the auspicious omens appeared in the abodes of gods (66).

Canto XX
Rathabandhanam
(The preparation of a chariot)

In this canto, there is the description in details of the preparation and the furnishing of the chariot of Lord Śiva by the gods (1-65).

Canto XXI
Gaṇaprasthānavarṇanam
(Description of the march of the troop)

The preliminaries before marching and the marching of the army of Lord Śiva towards Tripura are described (1-19). The parting of the warriors from their beloveds is described (20-29). Again the march of the army of Śiva towards Tripura is described (30-42). The effects on Tripura of the march of Śiva's army are described (43-53).

Canto XXII
Daityapurīkṣobhavarṇanam
(Description of the agitation of the city of the demons)

This canto describes the coming out of the demons from their three cities to fight with the army of gods and their sorrow as a consequence of the appearance of the inauspicious omens before them (1-57). Then the collision of the two armies is described (58).

Canto XXIII
Yuddhavarṇanam
(Description of the battle)

In this canto there is a detailed description of the fight of the army of gods with that of the Tripura (1-56).

Canto XXIV

Tripuradāhavarṇanam

(Description of the burning of Tripura)

At the gathering together of the three cities the fight became more furious (1-5). Having seen the proximity of the three cities gods threw their timid and beseeching glances towards Śiva (6). Śiva discharged the arrow and it got near the three cities (7-14). The three cities were destroyed (15-32). The gods were overjoyed and began to dance in an unrestrained manner (33). The female prisoners brought from heaven by the demons were released from the three cities (34). At the gesture of the eyebrow of Śiva gods gave up the forms they had assumed and appeared in their own natural forms (35). The burning Tripuras fell into the Western ocean (36-37). Śiva withdrew that terrible modification (38). The army of gods returned to heaven (39). The gods regained the prosperity of heaven (40-42). By the lustre of the jewels on the precipice mountain Kailāsa as it were embraced Śiva (43). Having heard the eulogy of the gods Śiva dismissed them with an affectionate glance (44).

Canto XXV

Granthakartṛkavikālīnakavipaṇḍitādivarṇanam[2]

(Description of the contemporary poets and scholars)

The poet experienced the joy of rendering his poetic talents fruitful by eulogizing Śiva only in contrast with the eulogizing of a king (1–9). He thought of putting his poem before the assembly of scholars that had gathered at the house of his elder brother Alaṅkāra to test it (10-20). Alaṅkāra forced Maṅkha to occupy half of his own seat which he accepted with respect and diffidence (21). Then the poet has recorded the proficiency in various branches of knowledge and other personal achievements of thirty-two scholars viz. Nandana (22-25); Ruyyaka (26-30, 135); Ramyadeva (31-33); Loṣṭadeva (34-36); Srīgarbha (48-50); Maṇḍana (51-53); Srīkaṇṭha (54); Garga (55-56); Devadhara (57-59); Nāga (62-64); Trailokya (65-66); Dāmodara (67-68); Ṣaṣṭha (69-70); Jinduka (71-72); Jalhaṇa (73-75); Govinda (76-77); Kalyāṇa (78-80); Bhuḍḍa and Śrīvatsa (81-82); Ānanda (83-84); Padmarāja (85-86); Gunna (87-88); Lakṣmīdeva (89-91); Janakarāja (92-93); Prakaṭa (94-95); Ānanda (96-97); Suhala (98-99); Suhala (an ambassador of king Govindacandra of Kānyakubja i.e. Kanoja) (100-102); Jogarāja (106-107); Tejakaṇṭha (an ambassador of king Aparāditya of Kuṅkuṇa (Koṅkaṇa) (108-111); Vāgīśvara (127); Paṭu (129-131). Loṣṭadeva eulogized Alaṅkāra (37-47). Devadhara also eulogized Alaṅkāra (60-61). Devadhara eulogized king Jayasiṃha also (61). Suhala (the ambassador of king Govindacandra)

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2 This title is mentioned only in the list of contents by the editors.

gave the poet a riddle (samasyā) (103). Within no time the poet could solve the samasyā (104). The samasyā solved by Maṅkha (105). Tejakaṇṭha congratulated Maṅkha since his speech was not defiled by the eulogy of kings (112-116). However he entreated Maṅkha to compose a few verses in praise of a king in order to favour them (117-118). Maṅkha began his eulogy of a king in compliance with the request of Tejakaṇṭha (119). Maṅkha eulogized a king (120-126). Vāgīśvara eulogized Alaṅkāra (Laṅkaka) (128). Paṭu expressed his desire to see the fame of the poem of Maṅkha well-established (132). Maṅkha was astonished to find the assembly joyful (133). Then there was a prolonged discussion (134). Ruyyaka, the teacher of Maṅkha, congratulated him for having rendered his speech fruitful by singing the praise of Śiva and commanded him to read out his poem to the assembly (135-141). In compliance with the order of Ruyyaka, Maṅkha read out the poem to the assembly (142-143). The poem was highly appreciated by the members of the assembly (144-150.). Then the poet dedicated the poem to Lord Śiva (150-151). In keeping with the order of his father, a resident of Kailāsa, who had appeared before him in a dream, Maṅkha composed the work and was satisfied (152).

CHAPTER II

SOURCES AND INNOVATIONS

The story of 'Tripuradahana' by Lord Śiva is one which has attracted many poets and dramatists to enrich the Sanskrit literature by frequently drawing upon it.[1] Thus it has become one of the most popular stories of India. In its most germinal form it is found in the Śatapatha and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇas.[2] It occurs in the Purāṇas,[3] in the Mbh.[4] and also in the literary works of diverse nature.[5] Notwithstanding certain deviations, elaborations and additions which are necessary to cast the matter-of-fact narrative of the Mbh., into the mould of an ornate poem, Maṅkha seems to follow generally the account as given in the Karṇaparvan of the Mbh. A similar account is found in the Śivapurāṇa with the exception of a spurious mention of a well enlivening the dead. The account of this story as found in Adhyāyas (chapters) 129-140 of the Matsyapurāṇa is a detailed one. However it differs from that which is found in the Śivapurāṇa in important details. The deviations are as follows.

There is no mention of Kamalākṣa instead Maya himself is stated to have practised penance along with Tāraka(akṣa) and Vidyunmālī in MP. 129. 3-5. In MP. 130. 7-9 it is stated that each one of Tāraka(akṣa), Vidyunmālī and Maya was the overlord of the city made up of iron, silver and gold respectively.[6] The details of the constituents of the chariot of Lord Śiva in the MP. chapter 133 generally agree with those given in the Śivapurāṇa though differing in minor

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1 Vide Appendix 1, for a brief outline of the literature on the Tripuradahana story.

2 cf. ŚB III. 4.4.4 ; AB I. 25.

3 Bhāgavata IV. 17. 13 ; V. 24. 28 ; VII. 10. 54 and 63 ; VIII. 6. 31; XI. 16. 20 ; Brahmāṇḍa III. 72, 82 ; Vāyu 97. 82 ; Matsya Chapters 129-130 ; Chapters 135-140 ; 187. 8, 14-16 ; 183. 9-10 ; Śiva II. 5. 1-10 ; (Jñāna Saṃhitā) XIX ; XXIV ; Liṅga LXXI-LXXII ; Saura XXXIV-XXXV ; Padma (Svarga Khaṇḍa) VII ; Skanda (Āvantya Khaṇḍa-Revā Khaṇḍa) XXVI-XXVIII ; (Vaiṣṇava Khaṇḍa) XXXV.

For further information about the three recensions of the Tripura legend Vide the article 'The Tripura Episode in Sanskrit Literature' by Kumari Bhakti Sudha Mukhopadhyaya which appeared in Journal Of The Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Vol. VIII. Part 4, August, 1951, pp. 371-395. In the said article the story of Tripuradahana, is explained as a mythological representation of a spiritual phenomenon i.e. the destruction of Avidyā and its result Brahma-realisation.

4 Cf. Droṇaparvan Chapter 173 stanzas 52-58 and Karṇaparvan Chapter 24 BORI, Poona. 1958 and 1950 respectively. Harivaṃśa (Bhaviṣya Parva) C XXXIII.

5 Vide Appendix 1.

6 According to the critical edition of the Mbh. Droṇaparvan 173. 53 the respective overlords were Tārakākṣa, Kamalākṣa and Vidyunmālī.

points from them. In MP. chapter 135 sts. 10-13 it is stated that in accordance with the command of Śiva, Indra accompanied by the gods and the followers of Śiva attacked the Tripuras while Śiva stood in His chariot awaiting the coming together of the three cities to strike them. In MP. 135. 55-56 Nandi is stated to have killed Vidyunmālī but as mentioned in MP. 136. 9-11 Maya created by the power of his witchcraft a well filled with ambrosia to bring to life the dead bodies by dipping them into the nectar of the well and enlivened Vidyunmālī (MP. 136, 16-17). Moreover in MP. 136. 58-59 it is mentioned that Lord Viṣṇu took the form of a bull and by His horns gave support to the chariot of Śiva which was perishing without any support and then crushing the army of the demons entered the Tripura and drank up the nectar contained in the well there (MP. 136. 63-64). Thereupon Maya advised the demons to resort to the ocean (MP. 137. 19-21). In MP. 138. 23-26 it is stated that Indra attacked Tripura from the eastern gate, Skanda from the northern, Yama and Kubera from the western and Lord Śiva from the southern. Then follows the slaughter of Tāraka(akṣa) by Nandi (MP. 138. 46) and that of Vidyunmālī also by Nandi (MP. 140. 34-36). At last at the behest of Lord Śiva Nandi went to Tripura even before the arrow of Śiva could reach it and persuaded Maya with success to get out of Tripura (MP. 140. 51). Regarding the outstanding roles of Maya and Nandi as well as all other details from MP. mentioned above except that pertaining to the constituents of the chariot of Śiva it should be stated that they have no parallel to them in the Śivapurāṇa. The account of Tripuradahana story as found in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (VII. 10. 54-68) is merely an abridgement of that which is met with in Matsyapurāṇa chapters 129 to 140.

The account of this story as found in the Śivapurāṇa has got the following peculiarities. In ŚVP. II. 5.1.10 it is mentioned that the Tripurāsuras viz. Tārakākṣa, Kamalākṣa and Vidyunmālī practised penance in the cave of the mountain Meru. Moreover it is stated in ŚVP. II. 5.3. 1-6 that Śiva refused to destroy the Tripurāsuras even though they were oppressing the gods and the world since they were doing meritorious deeds and were devoted towards Him. Thereupon a Jain ascetic was created and ordered by Viṣṇu to initiate the demons in the Tripuras in the religion pervaded by darkness so that they might abandon the Vedic religion and Śiva's devotion (ŚVP. II. 5.4. 1-20) which he could accomplish skilfully as stated in ŚVP. II. 5.5. Then in ŚVP. II. 5.7. 22-28 it is stated that Viṣṇu accompanied by the gods propitiated Śiva by repeating a formula[7] sacred to Śiva. Next follows the description of the constituents of the chariot of Śiva. They can be classified into three heads. Thus some of those constituents were made up of various things of the universe as stated in ŚVP.

7 'ॐ नमः शिवाय शुभं शुभं कुरु कुरु शिवाय नमः ॐ'

II. 5.8. 7-11. 13. 14-19. 21-23·25.26. 28 etc., while some were composed of various measures of time as mentioned in ŚVP. II. 5.8.11.12 etc., whereas some of them were made up of spiritual entities as stated in ŚVP. II. 5.8.14.15 and 26. Then a voice from the sky informed Śiva that until He worshipped Gaṇapati He would not be able to destroy the Tripuras whereupon He did accordingly (ŚVP. II. 5.10.6.7).

INNOVATIONS

Though following mainly the account given in the Karṇaparvan of the Mbh. and agreeing in certain respects with that found in the Purāṇas Maṅkha seems to deviate in the following details:—

1. The role of Viṣṇu as found in the story of Tripuradahana in MP. is so prominent that He appears to be another hero instead of remaining an ally of the hero viz. Śiva. It was Viṣṇu who took the form of a huge bull and supported on his horns the chariot of Śiva which was perishing without any support. Moreover it was He who entered Tripura in His bull form and drank up the nectar in the well there which could enliven the corpses of demons dipped into it and without the annihilation of which it was impossible to destroy the Tripurāsuras. Similarly Viṣṇu's role in this story as found in ŚVP. is so very vital that He becomes as it were an associate hero. As mentioned therein He got the demons in the Tripuras converted into the religion pervaded by darkness through the agency of a Jain ascetic created by Him in order to make them abandon the true religion because it was impossible to expose them to their own ruin in any other way. In the Karṇaparvan of the Mbh. this story was narrated to king Śalya by Duryodhana in order to emphasize the need of a charioteer who must be superior to the warrior riding the chariot and so Duryodhana quoted in his support the above instance in which Brahmā who was considered superior to Śiva was made a charioteer of Śiva. Thus the superiority of Brahmā over Śiva was specifically advocated in this story of Karṇaparvan. But the equality in the status enjoyed by Viṣṇu with that of Śiva as found in the Purāṇas mentioned above or the superiority in it established in the case of Brahmā over that of Śiva as found in the Karṇaparvan of Mbh., both were equally derogatory in depicting a truly heroic role for Śiva. It is perhaps with this idea that the poet has judiciously dropped the incidents which present with prominence the roles of Viṣṇu or Brahmā. Though negative by nature it is an important innovation.

2. Usually a rat is considered to be a vehicle of Gaṇapati in the mythology but it is stated in XXIII. 14 that while fighting with the Tripurāsuras he was riding a lion.

3 Maṅkha assigns a specific reason as to why the Tripuras gathered together the reason which is quite different from that found in the Purāṇas and

in the Mbh. (See below Table of Contents). According to the statement made by Maṅkha (XXIII. 49) the Tripuras gathered together out of their wrath to conquer their enemy by a joint attack. It is however a cogent reason.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CONTENTS

On the following pages is given a comparative table of contents of this story as found in the ŚVP., the Karṇaparvan of the Mbh. and the Śc. which would bring home to us the indebtedness of Śc. to the two earlier works.

Subject-matter	ŚVP. II. 5	MBh. VIII. 24	Śc. XVII
Brahmā narrated to Śiva the way how the Tripurāsuras got the boon from Him.			46-66
After the annihilation of Tārakāsura by Skanda the son of Śiva, the three sons of Tārakāsura practised penance.	1.7	24.4	47[8]
Among them Tārakākṣa was the eldest. Vidyunmālī was younger than he. Kamalākṣa was the youngest.	1.8	4[9]	
They practised penance in the cave of the mountain Meru.	1.10		
They practised severe austerities.	1.11-24	5-6	48-49
Brahmā was pleased with their austerity and appeared before them to give them a boon.	1.25	6	49-50
They requested Brahmā to bestow immortality on them and to make them free from old age and diseases.	1.30-34	7[10]	= 54[11]
Brahmā replied that absolute immortality is impossible in case of any born creature and advised them to choose a cause of their death which might be absolutely difficult to	1.36-41	8[12]	55[13]

8 Only three Asuras are mentioned.

9 Merely their names are given.

10 They demanded immortality only.

11 The sign = is used to indicate the agreement in the subject matter of our text with that of Mbh. Karṇaparvan.

12 No specification by Brahmā that they ought to choose a cause of their death.

13 Brahmā urged them that no one could ever bestow immortality on somebody else.

Subject-matter	ŚVP. II. 5	MBh. VIII. 24	Śc. XVII
bring about so that death would not overtake them.			
Thereupon they demanded three cities unassailable by gods and endowed with all sorts of prosperity.	1.42-45	10	
According to their convention the three cities used to come together at one place at the end of one thousand years when the Puṣkarāvarta clouds were raining and when the moon was situated in the Puṣya constellation at Abhijit time.	1.48-50	11[14]	
Lord Śiva, riding an impossible fully furnished chariot might destroy their cities by an impossible single arrow.	1.51-52	12[15]	= 56
Then Maya created the city made up of gold for Tārākṣa, of silver for Kamalākṣa and of iron for Vidyunmālī.	1.57-58	14.18	58-61
They were in heaven, in the sky and on the earth respectively.	1.58	15.16[16]	60-61[17]
Maya himself entered the Tripuras.	1.59	21-22	
Hari, the son of Tāraka propitiated Brahmā by austerities and obtained a well filled with nectar that could enliven the dead.		23-26	
The gods who were troubled by the Tripurāsuras went to Brahmā for protection.	2.3-6	31	62
Brahmā advised them to propitiate Śiva for the destruction of the Tripura whereupon they went to Śiva and praised Him.	2.8-62	35-36	XIX.47

14 Mention is made only of their coming together at the end of one thousand years.

15 No other details except that they should be pierced by a single arrow are given.

16 Each city was hundred yojanas long and equally broad.

17 The location of the city made up of gold is not mentioned. The commentator remarks that it must be in the nether world but it might be in heaven as mentioned in ŚVP.

Subject-matter	ŚVP. II. 5	Mbh. VIII. 24	Śc. XVII
Brahmā informed Śiva about the oppression of the gods by Tripurāsuras and requested Him to kill them.		53–56	XVII. 62 63, 66
Śiva expressed His inability to destroy the Tripurāsuras since they were doing meritorious deeds and were devoted towards Śiva.	3.1–6	57[18]	
Viṣṇu created a Jain ascetic and ordered him to deceive the demons in the Tripuras by initiating them in the religion pervaded by darkness so that they might abandon the Vedic religion.	4.1–20		
The Jain ascetic made the Tripurāsuras abandon the Vedic religion and Śiva's Devotion.	5		
Śiva told the gods to attack jointly and conquer their enemies by the power of His weapons.		58	XIX 15-25[19]
The gods replied that the strength of the demons was double that of their own.		59	28
Śiva bade the gods to destory the demons by taking half of His own lustre.		60	26[20]
Gods expressed their inability to bear half of the lustre of Śiva and requested Him to take half of their own lustre and destory them.		61	29-32
Śiva did accordingly and began to be known as Mahādeva thence forth.		62-63	
Śiva ordered the gods to prepare a chariot for him.	7.37	64-65	42
He also ordered them to furnish the chariot with a bow and an arrow and a charioteer.	7.37	65.96	
Gods made the earth an uneven chariot.		68	XX. 2

18 Śiva's inability resulted out of the absence of any assistance.

19 Śiva bade them to conquer their enemies by their own powers.

20 Instead of half of His lustre, a part of it is mentioned.

Subject-matter	ŚVP. II.5	Mbh. VIII.24	Śc. XX
The Sun was the right wheel of the chariot. The moon was the left wheel of it.	8.6[21]	71	9
The clouds called Samvartaka and Balāhaka were the leather-strings of the yoke.		72	12.15[22]
The sky was the atmosphere in the chariot.	8.9	72[23]	=16
The Mandara Mountain was the interior of the carriage.	8.9	69[24]	
The mountain Mahāmeru was the ground upon which the chariot stood.	8.10	73[25]	
The years were its velocity.	8.11		40[26]
The Kalās (period of one nine-hundredth of a day) were the pins of its yoke.	8.11	73[27]	
The Nimeṣas (moments) were its wooden bottom.	8.12	70[28]	=6
The Lavas (periods of sixtyeths of a twinkling) were its poles.	8.12	72[29]	
The sky was its fence.	8.13	70[30]	=[illegible].15
Heaven and final beatitude were its flags.	8.13	78[31]	

21 As regards the constituents of the chariot of Śiva many more details are given in the ŚVP. which can be classified into three heads viz.

(1) The things of the Universe e.g. 7-11.13-17.19. 21-23.25.26.28.

(2) The various measures of time e.g. 11.12

(3) Spiritual elements e.g. 14.15.26. It is unnecessary to enumerate severally each one of those things that formed the constituents of the chariot.

22 The clouds appearing at the time of Universal destruction took the position of the place where the yoke is kept.

23 The sky was its yoke.

24 Mandara was the axis of the carriage.

25 Mind was the ground upon which the chariot stood.

26 Like an arrow Saṃvatsara was put on the bow of Śiva whose velocity was increaṣing on account of white and black Pakṣa (fortnight).

27 Fortitude intellect steadfastness and humility were the pins of its yoke.

28 The shining planets were its wooden bottom.

29 The ten lords of serpents with Dhṛtarāṣṭra as their chief were its poles.

30 The stars were the fence.

31 Making the sky its perch Śiva placed upon it His bovine bull.

Subject-matter	ŚVP. II. 5	Mbh. VIII. 24	Śc. XX
The six auxiliary sciences were its embellishments.	8.16	81[32]	37[33]
Śeṣanāga became a rope for binding.	8.18		38[34]
The directions and the sub-directions were its legs.	8.18	69[35]	=4
Some of the lunar mansions called Puṣkara were its legs.	8.19	76[36]	12[37]=27
The Ganges and other eminent rivers took the form of women and decorated the chariot by holding chowries in their hands.	8.20.21	69[38]	=3
Mānasa and other lakes were its beautiful, uneven outer portions.	8.22	71[39]	
Sinīvālī, Anumati, Kuhū and Rākā were made the ropes by which the horses were tied to the pole.		74	24
Karma (action), Satya (Truth) Tapas (Penance), and Artha (riches) were made its reins.		75	25
The sound of Vaṣat was the goad.		82	
Speech became the track of the chariot.		75	
With lightning and Indra's bow attached to it, that blazing chariot gave fierce light.		76	
The Brāhmaṇa's rod, the rod of Death, Rudra's rod and fever became the protectors of the sides of that chariot and stood with faces turned towards all sides.		79	31.[40]32[41]

32 All the sacred speeches and all the sciences stood around it.

33 Only speeches are mentioned.

34 The fourteen lores assumed the form of a chain of the chariot.

35 The directions etc., became the implements.

36 Beautiful banners of various hues waved in the air.

37 The lightning took the form of flags.

38 The great rivers became its thighs.

39 The day and night were its front and hind flanks.

40 Brahmadaṇḍa was kept ready in one quarter of the chariot.

41 Kālarudra, Daṇḍa and Jvara were kept in the other three quarters of it.

Subject-matter	ŚVP. II.5	Mbh. VIII 24	Śc. XX
Atharvan and Aṅgiras became the protectors of the wheels.		80	33-34
The Rigveda, the Sāmaveda and the Purāṇas stood in front of the chariot.		80	35
The Histories and the Yajurveda became the protectors of the rear.		81	36
Lord Brahmā was the charioteer wielding the reins.	8.24	111	35.61
The sacred syllable 'Om' was His whip.	8.24	82[42]	=39
The mountain Himalayas was the bow of Śiva.	8 25	83[43]	
Śeṣa, the lord of serpents was the bowstring.	8.25	83[44]	
Viṣṇu was the arrow.	8.26	84[45]	=42.45.57
The four Vedas were the horses of the chariot.	8.27	74[46]	=19
The remaining luminaries were the ornaments of the horses.	8.27	73[47]	18[48]
Then Lord Śiva mounted the divine chariot which was furnished with all accessories.	9.3	112	59
A voice from the sky told Śiva that until He worshipped Gaṇapati He would not be able to destroy the Tripuras. As a consequence He worshipped Gaṇapati.	10.6-7		

42 The syllable 'Om' stood in the van of that chariot.
43 The year adorned with the six seasons was made the bow.
44 The Kālarātrī (Death-night) was made the string of the bow.
45 Viṣṇu, Agni and Soma became the arrow.
46 Indra, Varuṇa, Yama and Kubera were the horses.
47 The sky with the planets, constellations and the stars formed the skins for covering.
48 The sky teeming with stars took the form of a variegated coat of mail.

Subject-matter	ŚVP. II.5	Mbh. VIII.24	Śc. XX
In the case of the Almighty the accomplishment of an action which depends on some-one else is unbecoming if it is not by way of amusement.	10.10.13		52-55
Thereafter the Tripuras became united because their time of coming together had arrived.	10.14	116	
Then Brahmā and Viṣṇu told Śiva that the time of the destruction of the demons had arrived and requested Him to discharge the arrow before they get separated.	10.17-19		XXIV 6[49]
Then Śiva stringed the bow and placed an arrow on it.	10.20	115[50]	
At the time when Abhijit Muhūrta was prevailing Śiva bent the bow and discharged the arrow.	10.25-26	120[51]	XXIV =10
That arrow pervaded by Viṣṇu and having Agni as the iron pin burnt the Tripuras to ashes.	10.27	120	30-32
The burnt Tripuras fell on the earth simultaneously.	10.28	120[52]	=36
Except Maya, the architect immortal, there was neither any moveable nor any immoveable that was left unburnt by that fire.	10.38-39		

Elaborations

The Tripuradahana story occupies 120 verses in the Karṇaparvan of the Mbh. It is however expanded in 342 verses in the Śc. Thus elaboration be-

49 Having seen the Tripuras coming together the gods threw their beseeching glances towards Śiva.

50 With the arrow Śiva united the Pāśupata weapon and waited thinking of the triple city.

51 Only discharging the arrow is mentioned.

52 The burnt Tripuras were thrown in the Western ocean.

comes one of the main features of the Śc. Cantos V, XVII, XX, XXI, XXIII, XXIV illustrate the instances of elaboration in the Śc.

Additions

The additions in the Śc., which have no parallel in the Mbh. are detailed below. They can be classified into three distinct groups viz. (1) the additions which have some relation with the story either closely or faintly, (2) the additions which have no relation with the story but which are deemed necessary by the poet to fulfil the requisite of an epic poem in accordance with the rules laid down in the works on rhetorics and (3) other additions having no bearing with the theme. The first group is illustrated by Cantos IV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXII, the second by Cantos VI to XV, and the third by Cantos I to III and XXV.

New Characters

Following are some new characters introduced by the poet. However they are no new inventions of the poet since they are familiarized by the purāṇas. They are Puṣpadanta (XVIII.43), Bhṛṅgiriṭi (XVIII.44; XXIII.18), Vīrabhadra (XVIII.49, XXI.2), Taṇḍu (XVIII.50; XXIII.19) and Mahākāla (a troop of so called demigods) XXI.4.

CHAPTER III

LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF MAṄKHA

A Life Sketch of Maṅkha :

In the Sanskrit literature it is only very rarely that we come across an author who has given complete information about his own self, his relatives, his place of residence and such other useful matter. The author of the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita is one of such writers. We get good information regarding our poet both from internal as well as external sources. We get following glimpses about his life.

Manmatha, the grandfather of the poet was famous as a protege of the rulers who were kind to suppliants (III.31). He was without enemies, full of pity and forbearance (III.32). He liberally gave gifts to Brahmins and washed off internal sin (III.33). He was famous far and wide as a pious Mahāmāheśvara[1] (III.34). He begot a son called Viśvavarta who was liberal, full of pity and famous on account of his good expressions (III.35). He gave as gifts to Brahmins many cows with the tip of their horns adorned with gold (III.36). His ignorance (Avidyā) diminished and he could visualize non-duality having abandoned duality (III.37). He was a great devotee of Śiva (III.38). His humility is seen in III.39. He used to worship an idol of Śiva (III.40-44). His eldest son was Śṛṅgāra who was devoted to truth and learning (III.45). He had learning and riches combined in him and he was followed by poetic skill and fluency of speech. He was liberal in giving alms and enjoyed the worldly pleasures (III.46). King Sussala appointed him as a Bṛhattantrapati or a magistrate (III.50). He was a man of prompt action, a knower of secrets and sciences still humble and famous for his good qualities (III.51). According to the information supplied by Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī viii.2422, Śṛṅgāra too, who was a judge (tantrapati), and a man of virtue, constructed a Maṭha, a garden and an oblong tank by (the hill of) Śrīdvāra.[2] Jonarāja, in his comments on iii.50, explains the otherwise unknown term Bṛhattantrapati as dharmādhikārin 'judge'.[3] Further in viii.2426 Kalhaṇa says—" The Maṭha which Śṛṅgārabhaṭṭa erected by the side of the Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha, did not enjoy particular fame, being like a well by the side of the full ocean".[4] Bhṛṅga was his younger brother who was rejoicing to see Vasanta his relative well-established and was removing

1 Cf. " the Kashmirian titles Rājānaka and Mahāmāheśvara indicate that he (Jayadratha) was a Kashmirian Śaiva " Dasgupta and De HSL. p. 323, foot note no. 2.

2 Vide English Translation of Rājataraṅgiṇī by M. A. Stein, Vol. II, p. 187.

3 Ibid. foot note p. 187.

4 Ibid. p. 188.

the gloom of the good. Even though rich he kept pride at a distance from him (III.52). He could rise to a higher and higher place without any impediment (III.53). His face was extremely radiant with the graceful movement of the pupils of the eyes. His speech was accomplished by pleasing words. His servants were also rich (III.54). Even though he followed the behaviour of good persons there was no decrease in his affection towards the relatives (III.55). His younger brother was Alaṅkāra also called Laṅkaka (XXV) who was a great scholar (III.56 ; 58) as well as a great grammarian (III.57). His fame was beyond measure and had crossed all boundaries (III 59). He was so good at dialectics that his opponents found themselves quite at a loss in the debate (III.60) and became tonguetied (III.61). King Sussala made Alaṅkāra a minister for war and peace (III.62). He was a lover of scholarship and made the scholars flourish. Moreover he opened the doors of temples which were formerly covered with thick paste of mud (III.62). Rājataraṅgiṇī supplies some additional information with regard to Alaṅkāra and his father in viii.2423, 2424, and 2425. It runs as follows—" Alaṅkāra, the superintendent of the great treasury (bṛhadgañja), embellished the land by constructing bathing-huts (snānakoṣṭhaka), Maṭhas, Brahmapurīs, bridges, and the like. " [5] (v. 2423). Alaṅkāra figures in the subsequent narrative in the high office of Rājasthānīya or chief-justice vide viii. 2557, 2618, 2671 etc.[6] When Maṅkha wrote his poem Alaṅkāra had not yet attained the higher office of Rājasthānīya.[7] " He, a man of wisdom (budha), was born from one who was versed in the arts, and was ever giving relief by medicinal herbs (or, he was like the planet Mercury (Budha) who was born from the Moon which ever gives comfort to the herbs); he known as a poet (kavi) surpassed all liberal persons by his liberality (or, he was famous like the planet Venus (Kavi), which has freed itself from connection with the demons (dānavatva) by renunciation. "[8] (v. 2424). It would appear from our passage that Alaṅkāra's father practised also as a physician. Maṅkha in his Śc. iii.35-44 does not mention this fact about his father.[9] " He (Alaṅkāra) being a worshipper of Viṣṇu, like none before him, was attached to the king (nṛsiṃha), distributed gold, food and clothing which was without harm, and presented cows at the festival of (Viṣṇu Ādi-) Varāha. " [10] (v. 2425). Thus we find that Alaṅkāra was perhaps the only person right from his grand-father to his other three brothers who was an ardent worshipper of Viṣṇu. The fame of the four sons (including the poet himself) acted as a tonic to their father who was as it

5 Ibid. p. 188.
6 Ibid. foot note p. 188.
7 Ibid. foot note p. 188.
8 Ibid. foot note p. 188.
9 Ibid. foot note p. 188.
10 Ibid. p. 188.

were regaining youth (III.67). When death was approaching the father of the poet there arose fresh devotion towards Raṇasvāmī in him (III.68). Once on the Śivarātrī day he was lying on a bed of Kuśa grass (III.69). On that day in the place of pilgrimage sacred on account of the existence of Raṇasvāmī, Viśvavarta abandoned his body and obtained the form of Harihara (III.70). The power of discrimination of the sons of Viśvavarta gradually removed their sorrow caused by the death of their father (III.71). Maṅkha was the younger brother of Alaṅkāra who was thoroughly educated by his teacher (III.63). He was the one and only abode of wealth. He was tall and did not approach anybody (III.64). He attained dexterity in various arts,[11] sciences and laws governing human behaviour simultaneously. Moreover he knew many a language[12] (III.65). Immediately after appointing Alaṅkāra king Jayasiṃha son of king Sussala appointed Maṅkha as a Prajāpālanakāryapūruṣa or a judge[13] (III.66). Once upon a time after the death of his father Maṅkha was observing a vow on Ekādaśī day and was sleeping alone in the topmost part of his house that night (III.72). His father Viśvavarta appeared before him in the joint form of Harihara in dream (III.73), and commanded Maṅkha to compose a work eulogizing Śiva (III.75). Then Viśvavarta disappeared along with the moon in the sky (III.76). Next morning Maṅkha woke up with his mind filled with anxiety, pathos and wonder (III.77). Thereafter he made up his mind to compose Śrīkaṇṭhacarita in compliance with the command of his father (III.78).

Maṅkha refers to the great grammarians of the past as sūtrakṛt (Pāṇini), vārtikakṛt (Vararuci), and iṣṭikṛt (Patañjali) in III.57. He adds his elder brother Alaṅkāra as the fourth of them (III.57). He eulogizes poet laureates in the most glorificatory terms (II.10; 35; 39; 40; 43; 45; 52; 53 and 55). Maṅkha refers to the poets who were his predecessors viz. Meṇṭha,[14] Subandhu, Bhāravi and Bāṇa (II.53). The self-confidence of the poet is easily seen in II.26; 53. After composing the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita the poet at the behest of his teacher Ruyyaka, read it out before the assembly of the learned persons which had assembled at the house of Alaṅkāra (XXV.15, 16, 140, 141). Tejakaṇṭha, an ambassador of Aparāditya, the king of Koṅkaṇa, requested Maṅkha to compose some stanzas in praise of a king in order to oblige others by enabling them to gain eminence in the courts of kings by reproducing those stanzas (XXV.112-118).

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11 Cf. Jonarāja: 'कलासु भरतशास्त्रनिर्दिष्टासु।' p. 42 NSP. ed.

12 Cf. Jonarāja: 'बहुभिर्मुखैर्भाषाषट्कादिभिरचुम्बत्।' p. 42 NSP. ed.

13 Cf. अनन्तरं सुस्सलदेवनन्दनो यमादराच्छ्रीजयसिंहभूपतिः।
व्यधात्प्रजापालनकार्यपूरुषं रुषं वितन्वन्नविनीतजन्तुषु॥ ३.६६

14 Meṇṭha flourished under the reigns of Vikramāditya and Mātṛgupta, the latter of which was his patron. Meṇṭha wrote a poem called Hayagrīvavadha which is now lost to us. Vide Dr. M. A. Stein, Introduction to Rājataraṅgiṇī, p. 84.

Accordingly Maṅkha composed stanzas in praise of a king (XXV.120-126) which testify to his capacity of being a Śīghrakavi (quick composer). Another one called Suhala, an ambassador of Govindacandra, the king of Kānyakubja, put before the poet a samasyā which was solved immediately by Maṅkha by supplying the other half (XXV.105)[15] much to the astonishment of the gathering (XXV.104). From his references to king Jayasiṃha as a ruling sovereign in III.66 and XXV.61 it becomes clear that Maṅkha was a contemporary of that king. The city Pravara situated in Kashmir was the place of residence of Maṅkha along with his brothers and predecessors upto his grandfather Manmatha (III.21).

The above information, supplied by the poem itself, is corroborated by the external source such as Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī[16] (1149 A.D.).[17] Over and above the Śc. Maṅkha has written Anekārthkoṣa,[18] a lexicon.

Personality of Maṅkha

Maṅkha held the devotion of Lord Śiva in high esteem (I.44). He thought it worth-while to be a bard of Lord Śiva instead of being a bard of kings (I.56). From the study of the whole poem it becomes clear that Lord Śiva was a favourite deity of Maṅkha. The Ardhanārīśvara form of this deity which is eulogized at various places in this poem shows his special attraction towards that form of Śiva (I.48 ; III.45 ; V.20 ; V.20; 31 ; XI. 65 ; XIX. 65). His regard for Sarasvatī is easily noticeable in I.34 and I.36. Moreover, he was a pious man who used to observe the vow of fasting on Ekādaśi (i.e. on the eleventh day of a fortnight) (III. 72). By the statements of Maṅkha that his father attained the joint form of Harihara after his death we can safely infer that the poet aimed at synthesis in the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu (III.70 ; 73 ; X.40). Maṅkha in keeping with mythology believed in the non-difference

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15 एतद्ब्रभ्रुकचानुकारिकिरणं राजद्रुहोऽह्नः शिर-
इछेदाभं वियतः प्रतीचि निपतत्यब्धौ रवेर्मण्डलम्। (इति समस्या)
* * *

एषापि द्युरमा प्रियानुगमनं प्रोद्दामकाष्ठोत्थिते
संध्याग्नौ विरचय्य तारकमिषाज्जातास्थिशेषस्थितिः ॥ २५.१०५ (इति समस्यापूरणम्)

16 VIII. 2422, 2423, 2557, 2618, 2658, 3354. Also Cf.
सुतः सुस्सलभूभर्तुः संप्रत्यप्रतिमक्षमः ।
नन्दयन्मेदिनीमास्ते जयसिंहो महीपतिः ॥
Rājataraṅgiṇī, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. LI, p. 300 st. 43.

17 Vide Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī translated by M. A. Stein, Vol. 1, Introduction p. 6.

18 Vide History of Sanskrit Literature by Dr. A. B. Keith, p. 414.

between Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa (XVII. 19). In compliance with the command of his father who appeared before him in the joint form of Harihara in dream Maṅkha made up his mind to compose Śrīkaṇṭhacarita in praise of Śiva (III.78). This shows that he was obedient to his father. Over and above being a poet Maṅkha was also a judge (a prajāpālanakāryapūruṣa), an important official of the king of Kashmir (III.66). Next to his brother Alaṅkāra, he succeeded to the post of a minister for war and peace as mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[19] In the same place in the Rājataraṅgiṇī viz. viii.3354, Kalhaṇa has referred to Maṅkha who distinguished himself by erecting a shrine of Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva) together with a Maṭha. In his foot-note to the same stanza of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, Dr. M.A. Stein writes—" The title of the latter (" Śrīkaṇṭha's deeds") refers to Śiva under the same name which Kalhaṇa gives for the Liṅga erected by Maṅkha."[20] His high-praise by Tejakaṇṭha (XXV. 112-118), an ambassador of Aparāditya, the king of Koṅkaṇa and by his own teacher Ruyyaka (XXV. 136-141) in the midst of an assembly of learned persons leaves no doubt as regards his eminent personality and strong qualities. Like many Sanskrit writers he was a fatalist (V. 2). As Maṅkha was an important officer of the king of Kashmir his first-hand knowledge of court-life becomes evident as a result of which he has supplied vivid descriptions of the awakening of Lord Śiva by reciting panegyrics in the early morning in canto XVI and of His court in canto XVII. In VII. 21 the poet mentions the fragrance of Elā side by side with that of the wind from Malaya. This shows that he kenw Elā to be a product of the Malaya mountain of South India. This may be due to poet's stay in South-west India as an ambassador. According to the statement made by Dr. M. Krishnamachariar Maṅkha went to Konkhan as an ambassador.[21] This poem of Maṅkha brought credit to him, a fact to which a covert allusion is made by a contemporary writer Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī.[22]

Maṅkha's Philosophy of Life

The Śc. abounds in moral maxims and excellent and appropriate reflections on the various aspects of life and literature. We have the views of Maṅkha on the devotion of Lord Śiva (I.44) ; on becoming a bard of Śiva in contrast with other poets praising kings (I.56 ; XXV. 5-9) ; on the good (II.1; 2; 20); on the plagiarists (II.2; 8); on the wicked (II.3; 10; 16; 17; 18; 19; 22; 23; 24;

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19 सांधिविग्रहिको मङ्खकाख्योऽलंकारसोदरः।
स मठस्याभवत्प्रष्ठः श्रीकण्ठस्य प्रतिष्ठया ॥८। ३३५४

20 Ibid. foot-note p. 262.

21 Vide ' History of Classical Sanskrit Literature ' by M. Krishnamachariar, Madras, 1937, p. 177.

22 Vide VIII. 3354.

25); on the Kali age (II.21); on chastity (II.13; V. 28); on the absence of a listener free from any prejudice (XXV. 11) ; on the transmigration of souls (XXV.136); on natural genius as the source of a poem (II.4; XXV. 137); on recondite speech lending charm to the expression (II.11; 34; 47) which cannot be an end in itself (II.14; 46); on sentiment as an essence of a poem (II.30-32; 40; 50); on the Vaidarbhī Rīti (II.41); on clarity of expression (II.51); on predestination (V. 2); etc.

CHAPTER IV

WORKS OF MAṄKHA

The works of Maṅkha can be divided into two main groups as follows. The first group consists of those works which are definitely known to be his own while the second group consists of those works which are attributed to him. Of course the number of works written by Maṅkha is not very large. Below is given the discussion regarding the nature, contents and authorship of these works arranged alphabetically.

1 *Genuine Works of Maṅkha*:

(1) *Anekārthakośa :*

Anekārthakośa [1] is a lexicon collecting words having more than one meaning. It is also called Maṅkhakośa after the name of the author. Regarding the authorship of Maṅkha of this work Dr. Dasgupta remarks as follows : "If our Maṅkhaka is identical with the author of the Maṅkha-kośa, then he was also a lexicographer, whose partiality for recondite words would not be surprising." [2] One parallel instance in which the authorship of a lexicon is attributed to a poet is to be found in the case of Śrīharṣa, the author of the Naiṣadhīyacarita who was credited with the authorship of a lexicon called Dvirūpakośa. The work is published from Vienna.[3] Dr. Keith observes : 'Maṅkha's Anekārthakośa with his own comment which uses Amara, Śāśvata, Halāyudha and Dhanvantari is rather later.' [4] In his preface to the edition of the Maṅkhakośa referred to above, Dr. Zachariae observes : 'The irretrievable loss of the last third of the Maṅkhaṭīkā is, to a certain degree, made up by Mahendra's extracts from it. Numerous quotations, both from the text and the commentary are found in Mahendrasūri's ṭīkā on the Anekārtha-saṃgraha. The Maṅkhaṭīkā almost entirely confines itself to supplying examples illustrating the meanings of the words. Maṅkhaṭīkā places the examples before the meanings, separating the latter from the former by the words ityādau.' References to the Maṅkhakośa are noted down against some peculiar words in Appendix IV of the present work. At places even the citations are given to help better understanding of the text. Jonarāja, in his commentary on the Śc. occasionally quotes from Maṅkhakośa, without making a specific mention of it. He merely states 'iti Kośaḥ' (so is lexicon) which is

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1 References : Report XXII—CC I p. 419.

2 HSL, p. 323, foot note 1.

3 Vide Theodor Zachariae, Sources of Sanskrit Lexicography, Volume III, 'The Maṅkhakośa', Vienna, Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay, 1897.

4 Vide A. B. Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford, 1920, p. 414.

rarely, Maṅkhakośa though generally it refers to other kośas. Jonarāja flourished in the fifteenth century A.D. Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, the son of Rājānaka Śaṃkarakaṇṭha, has written a commentary called 'Laghupañcikā' on 'The Stutikusumāñjali' of Śrī Jagaddhara Bhaṭṭa. The work is published in Kāvyamālā No. 23 by the proprietor, Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay. In the said commentary of Ratnakaṇṭha many quotations from Maṅkhakośa are come across. This shows that Maṅkhakośa was carefully studied and cited in their respective works by scholars from Kashmir for a very long period of time. Even after a lapse of five hundred years one of the scholars Ratnakaṇṭha who flourished in the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.) happens to quote from Maṅkhakośa is a glaring proof of it.

(2) *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* :

2 *Works Attributed to Maṅkha* :

(1) *Alaṅkārasarvasva* :

Regarding the authorship of the Alaṅkārasarvasva the following three views are prevalent amongst scholars :

(1) The sūtras are by Ruyyaka and the Vṛtti is by Maṅkhaka.
(2) Both the Sūtras and the Vṛtti are by Maṅkhaka.
(3) Both are by Ruyyaka.

The first view was upheld by the late MM. T. Gaṇapati Shāstri in his introduction to the edition of the work with Samudrabandha's commentary in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 40. This is based on the interpretation of the line " Gurvalaṅkāra-sūtrāṇāṃ vṛttyā tātparyamucyate " found in this commentary in the very first verse in the vṛtti. The words Gurvalaṅkāra-sūtrāṇāṃ are interpreted by MM. T. Gaṇapati Shāstri as meaning the alaṅkārasūtras of the preceptor of the author of the vṛtti. That Maṅkha was the author of the Vṛtti is further corroborated by the passage :

iti Maṅkhu(a)ko vitene kāśmīrakṣitipasāndhivigrahikaḥ |
sukavimukhālaṅkāraṃ tadidamalaṅkārasarvasvam ||

and that Ruyyaka was a teacher of Maṅkha is testified to by the verse :

taṃ Śrīruyyakamālokya sa priyaṃ gurumagrahīt |
sauhārdapraśrayarasasrotassambhedamajjanam || (*Śc. XXV.30*)

The late Prof. S. Kuppuswami Shastri also agreed with MM. T. Gaṇapati Shastri.

The second view was based on the testimony of Samudrabandha who takes alaṅkārasarvasva to mean both the sūtra and the vṛtti and comments on both of them. According to him the author of the work is Maṅkhuka. The following passages from his commentary support this :

kadācinmaṅkhukopajñaṃ kāvyālaṅkāralakṣaṇam /
pradarśya ravivarmāṇaṃ prārthayanta vipaścitaḥ //
gambhīram nastitīrṣūnāṃ maṅkhukagranthasāgaram /
naurastu bhavataḥ prajñā stheyasī yadunandana //
maṅkhukanibandhavivṛtau vihitāyāmiha samudrabandhena / etc.

Later writers like Vidyānātha,[5] Mallinātha,[6] Kumārasvāmin[7] and Jagannātha[8] cite as from Alaṅkārasarvasva both the sūtra and the vṛtti and call the author Alaṅkārasarvasvakāra. Thus they testify to the fact that the sūtra and the vṛtti are by one and the same author and that the name Alaṅkārasarvasva is common to both.

The sūtra sometimes presupposes the vṛtti, for instance sūtra 4 reads saṅkhyāniyame pūrvaṃ chekānuprāsaḥ. For the word pūrvaṃ there is no substantive in the previous sūtras and so it would be unintelligible. But the vṛtti explains the word as meaning vyañjanamātrāśritaṃ which is based on the division of Śabdapaunaruktya contained in the vṛtti on the preceding sūtra.[9] This is not possible unless the sūtra and the vṛtti were composed consecutively for each alaṅkāra.

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5 एतदलङ्कारसर्वस्वे प्रपञ्चेनोक्तम्– ‘रसभावतदाभासतत्प्रशमानां निबन्धे रसवत्प्रेयऊर्जस्विसमाहितानि; भावोदयसन्धिशबलतास्थैते पृथगलङ्काराः’ इति।

Vide Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, edited by K. P. Trivedi, p. 291. The reference is to the sūtras 82-83. Also

तदुक्तमलङ्कारसर्वस्वे– ‘सङ्घटनाधर्मत्वेन शब्दार्थधर्मत्वेन च गुणालङ्काराणां व्यवस्थानम्’ इति।
op. cit., p. 334. Here the vṛtti in the introductory portion is referred to.

6 तथा च सर्वस्वकारः– ‘रसभावतदाभास......पृथगलङ्काराः’ इति।

Vide Mallinātha's commentary Taralā on the Ekāvalī of Vidyādhara, edited by K. P. Trivedi, p. 135.

7 अत एव सर्वस्वसूत्रम्– ‘दण्डापूपिकयार्थान्तरापतनमर्थापत्तिः’ इति।

Vide Kumārasvamin's commentary Ratnāpaṇa on Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, edited by K. P. Trivedi, p. 452. Sūtra 63 is referred to here. Also

तदुक्तमलङ्कारसर्वस्वे– ‘अत्र चारोप्यमाणस्य धर्मित्वादाविष्टलिङ्गसङ्ख्यत्वेऽपि क्वचित्स्वतोऽसम्भवत्सङ्ख्यायोगस्य विषयसङ्ख्यत्वं प्रत्येकमारोपात्’।
op. cit., p. 376. Vṛtti on sūtra 15 is referred to.

8 अलङ्कारसर्वस्वकारस्तु– ‘आरोप्यमाणस्य प्रकृतोपयोगित्वे परिणामः’ इति सूत्रयित्वा, ‘आरोप्यमाणं रूपके प्रकरणोपयोगित्वाभावात् प्रकृतोपरञ्जकत्वेनैव केवलेनान्वयं भजते; परिणामे तु प्रकृतात्मतयारोप्यमाणस्योपयोग इति प्रकृतमारोप्यमाणतया परिणमति’ इति व्याख्यातवान्।

Vide Rasagaṅgādhara, (Kāvyamālā edition), p. 251. Sūtra 16 and its vṛtti are referred to. Besides there are several quotations of both the sūtra and the vṛtti as from Alaṅkārasarvasva.

9 Cf. शब्दपौनरुक्त्यं तु व्यञ्जनमात्रपौनरुक्त्यं स्वरव्यञ्जनसमुदायपौनरुक्त्यं च। Vṛtti on sūtra 3.

The first view is untenable since there is a consensus of opinion among all the commentators including Samudrabandha that the vṛtti and the sūtra are by one and the same author. The only difficulty is that he is Maṅkha according to Samudrabandha (and according to many MSS. from South India), and Ruyyaka according to many other commentators while some others do not name the author. Jayaratha in his commentary Vimarśini refers to the author many times but uniformly as granthakṛt and never once by name. Mallinātha and Jagannātha also do not mention the author by name. Jayaratha however, mentions Kāvyaprakāśasaṅketa as a work of the author[10] which contains the śloka which indicates its author to be Rucaka.[11] 'Rucaka' is a variation of the name 'Ruyyaka' as is seen from the colophon of a manuscript of Sahṛdayalīlā of this author. This colophon mentions also the fact that the Alaṅkārasarvasva too is his work.[12] Thus Jayaratha indirectly supports Ruyyaka's authorship of Alaṅkārasarvasva. Śrīvidyācakravartin in his commentary Sañjīvanī on the Alaṅkārasarvasva clearly attributes the work to Rucaka.[13]

Kumārasvāmin also cites a few passages from Alaṅkārasarvasva as Rucaka's.[14] Kumārasvāmin's ascription of the authorship to Rucaka is perhaps based on Vidyācakravartin's view, since he quotes the Sañjīvanī in his work.

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10 यत्तु काव्यप्रकाशसङ्केते ग्रन्थकृता वस्तुध्वनेः शब्दशक्तिमूलत्वं चिन्त्यमुक्तं तदुदाहरणाभिप्रायेणै-वोन्नेयम् ।

Vide Kāvyamālā no. 35 (second edition), p. 130.

All references to Jayaratha's commentary in this Chapter are to this edition.

11 ज्ञात्वा श्रीतिलकात्सर्वालङ्कारोपनिषत्क्रमम् ।
काव्यप्रकाशसङ्केतो रुचकेनेह लिख्यते ॥

Vide S. S. Sukthankar, Kāvyaprakāśa I-III, Appendix I, śloka 2.

12 समाप्तेयं सहृदयचमत्कारिणी सहृदयलीला। कृतिः श्रीमद्विपश्चिद्वरराजानकतिलकात्मजश्रीमदालंकारिकसमाजाग्रगण्यश्रीराजानकरुय्यकस्य राजानकरुचकापरनाम्नोऽलंकारसर्वस्वकृतः ।

Kāvyamālā V, p. 160 foot note.

13 रुचकाचार्योपज्ञे सेयमलंकारसर्वस्वे ।
सञ्जीवनीति टीका श्रीविद्याचक्रवर्तिना क्रियते ॥

Vide Alaṅkārasarvasvasañjīvanī, Travancore University Manuscripts Library, MS. No. T-326, p. 1. Also

इत्थं भूम्ना रुचकवचसां विस्तरः कर्कशोऽयम् ।
टीकास्माभिः समुपरचिता तेन सञ्जीवनीयम् ॥ Ibid, p. 296.

14 अत एवोक्तं रुचकेन—'अध्यवसितप्राधान्ये त्वतिशयोक्तिः ।

Vide Kumārasvāmin's commentary Ratnāpaṇa on Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa, edited by K. P. Trivedi, p. 396. This is sūtra 22. Also

काव्यग्रहणं तर्कवैलक्षण्यार्थम्, तेन व्याप्तिपक्षधर्मतादयो न क्रियन्ते' इति रुचकः ।

op. cit., p. 448. This is from vṛtti on sūtra 57.

In Jayaratha's text the reading in the first verse is nijālaṅkārasūtrāṇāṃ instead of gurvalaṅkārasūtrāṇāṃ. Vidyācakravartin also reads nijālaṅkārasūtrāṇāṃ. Even though Samudrabandha's text is gurvalaṅkārasūtrāṇāṃ he does not take the word 'guru' as meaning preceptor but as difficult. Compare-gurvityanena vivakṣitasya tātparyasyāvaśyavaktavyatāṃ darśayati. Moreover he also holds the author of the vṛtti to be identical with that of the sūtras as can be seen from the commentary on Arthāntaranyāsa: dṛṣṭāntavyavacchedāya sūtre svakaṇṭhenānupāttamapi samarthanapadasāmarthyalabdhaṃ viśeṣaṇaṃ darśayati-samarthanārhasyeti.

As regards the authorship of Maṅkha supported by some southern MSS. it should be borne in mind that there is no uniformity in their support to Maṅkha's authorship since some MSS. from south actually mention Ruyyaka as the author while Appayya Dīkṣita a famous south Indian writer mentions Maṅkha as the author in one place and Ruyyaka in the other. The mere quotation of some five stanzas from the Śc. of Maṅkha as illustrations is no sufficient evidence to vouchsafe joint authorship much less Maṅkha's authorship. It can at the most prove that the Alaṅkārasarvasva must have been written later than the Śc. Moreover there is nothing to prevent a teacher from quoting from a work of his worthy disciple.

In the light of the above evidence it seems more probable that Ruyyaka must have been the author of the Alaṅkārasarvasva and that the ascription of its authorship to Maṅkha must be due to Maṅkha's efforts to popularize his teacher's work.

(2) *Śrīkaṇṭhastava*

Śrīkaṇṭhastava is also one of those works which are attributed to Maṅkha. Alaṅkārasarvasva[15] ascribes it to Maṅkha while citing the stanza 'Ahīna..' etc. This stanza 'Ahīnabhuja..' etc. is not found in the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha. Nevertheless it is clearly stated that it is from Śrīkaṇṭhastava of Maṅkha. Moreover while citing it, it is specifically mentioned that it is from Śrīkaṇṭhastava and not from Śrīkaṇṭhacarita which proves that Śrīkaṇṭhastava (of Ruyyaka) is a different work from Śrīkaṇṭhacarita (of Maṅkha).[16] The stanza 'Bhujaṅga...' etc. is also not found in Śrīkaṇṭhacarita and this is noted while citing it by the words 'Tatraiva' *i.e.* Maṅkhīye Śrīkaṇṭhastave, which proves that Śrīkaṇṭhastava is different from Śrīkaṇṭhacarita. But since it is clearly stated while quoting 'Ahīna...' etc. that it is from Maṅkha's Śrīkaṇṭhastava the question arises whether the Śrīkaṇṭhastava is Maṅkha's work or is it Ruyyaka's work ? It must be Ruyyaka's work for two works of Maṅkha are definitely known to be his own

15 Ed. TSS no. 40 P. 15.

16 In support of the above statement see the article of Jacob in the JRAS 1897.

viz. Śrīkaṇṭhacarita and Anekārthakośa whereas in the case of Alaṅkārasarvasva in which he had a hand is attributed to him by some on that account. Under these circumstances it is very unlikely that the whole work viz. Śrīkaṇṭhastava had it been a work of Maṅkha who was besides a poet an eminent official of the king of Kashmir should go unnoticed by everyone including himself. On the contrary it is very likely that Śrīkaṇṭhastava must be Ruyyaka's work wrongly attributed to Maṅkha because of the popularity that was enjoyed by his Śrīkaṇṭhacarita and that it suffered the same lot which many other works of Ruyyaka did. This is again corroborated by the fact that the stanza 'Āṭopena...' etc. which is quoted with the words 'yathā madīye Śrīkaṇṭhastave' is actually met with in the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha. Thus in the case of the citation of 'Āṭopena...' etc. at least the word Śrīkaṇṭhastava stands for the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha for had there been any other work by Maṅkha himself having the name Śrīkaṇṭhastava which contained this stanza 'Āṭopena...' etc. since he is himself referring to it as is clear from the word 'madīye' he should have referred to it by the words 'yathā madīye Śrīkaṇṭhastave Śrīkaṇṭhacarite ca'. Over and above 'Āṭopena.....' etc. some four stanzas are found quoted without naming the source and the author from the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha. This would lead us to suppose that all the five stanzas found in the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha belonged to Śrīkaṇṭhastava of Maṅkha himself which was written before the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita and that they are referred to as taken from Śrīkaṇṭhastava on that account. Not only that but we have to suppose that afterwards all of the five stanzas were included in the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha. This is naturally absurd since it involves many unwarranted suppositions and since this circumstance can be explained very easily by accepting that Śrīkaṇṭhastava was a work of Ruyyaka now lost to us from which appear the two stanzas 'Ahīna.....' etc, and 'Bhujaṅga....' etc. which were quoted in the Alaṅkārasarvasva not by Maṅkha himself since it is mentioned as 'Maṅkhīye' and even if they were quoted by Maṅkha he would have quoted them with the word 'madīye'. This leads us to conclude that the two stanzas 'Ahīna....' etc. and 'Bhujaṅga...' etc. were quoted by somebody else than Maṅkha and that they were quoted from a work Śrīkaṇṭhastava by name. Thus we come to the further result that the above two stanzas are quoted by Ruyyaka from his Śrīkaṇṭhastava which should have been originally quoted with the words 'udāharaṇaṃ madīye Śrīkaṇṭhastave'.

Now 'Āṭopena...' etc. must have been quoted with the words 'yathā Maṅkhīye Śrīkaṇṭhacarite'. But afterwards due to some reason or the other the difference between the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita and Śrīkaṇṭhastava was lost sight of. Whereupon somebody put Maṅkhīye Śrīkaṇṭhastave instead of madīye Śrīkaṇṭhastave and vice versa *i.e.* he put Maṅkhīye while quoting 'Ahīna..' etc. and madīye while illustrating 'Āṭopena...' etc. But the correct position of them is just the reverse.

In the Kāvyamālā edition the two stanzas 'Ahīna....' etc. and 'Bhujaṅga....' etc. are found quoted with the words 'udāharaṇaṃ madīye Śrīkaṇṭhastave and 'yathā tatraiva' respectively. In the light of the foregoing discussion it becomes clear that Śrīkaṇṭhastava was a work of Ruyyaka from which the above two stanzas are quoted in his Alaṅkārasarvasva by Ruyyaka himself. The stanzas from Śrīkaṇṭhacarita which are quoted in the above edition are quoted with the general term 'yathā' without indication of the author or the work which does not preclude the possibility of their being quoted by Ruyyaka from his pupil Maṅkha's work viz. Śrīkaṇṭhacarita. This also testifies to the purity and reliability of the text that was commented upon by a native writer like Jayaratha as early as within a century's period of time (only about seventy five years) after the composition of the text.[17]

17 For this view refer to MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, History of Sanskrit Poetics (Third ed.), Bombay, 1951), P. 266-267.

CHAPTER V

MAṄKHA'S ERUDITION

Philosophical Doctrines

In the Śc. the philosophical allusions are found in abundance. It testifies to poet's deep knowledge of Indian philosophical systems.

The poet refers to the following systems and their doctrines :—

Sāṅkhya

Theory of causation : Maṅkha refers to the twenty-five elements beginning with Mahat in XVII. 21.[1] The three guṇas viz. Sattva, Rajas and Tamas are referred to in XXI. 51.[2] According to the Sāṅkhya philosophy, creation starts from the Prakṛti or Primordial cause or matter when all the three essential attributes constituting it are in equilibrium. Moreover, the Sāṅkhyas consider the individual souls as indifferent in the matter of creation. Maṅkha, however, criticises the Sāṅkhya doctrine that the matter or Prakṛti is the cause of creation. According to him, the matter or Prakṛti requires the cooperation of the Supreme Soul in the matter of creation (XVII. 20)[3].

According to Maṅkha, it is improper to designate the Mahat etc. as the elements or Tattvas since the Supreme Soul only is free from limiting adjuncts (XVII. 21).[4]

Yoga

The word 'Parikarma' used in XX. 37[5] denotes the purification of the mind brought about by concentration.[6] 'Parikarma' is considered six-fold as follows :

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1 किं मिथ्या हर महदादिषु प्रयुङ्क्ते लोकोऽयं विकृतिमयेषु तत्त्वशब्दम् ।
एकस्त्वं निरुपधिरूपभृद्धि तथ्यं तत्तत्त्वं पुरुष बिभर्षि पञ्चविंशः ॥ १७.२१ ॥

2 बाणीभूतसुरारिवैरिणि लसत्सारथ्यपथ्यस्थिति-
ब्रह्मण्यागतवत्युपोढसुदृढाटोपं पुरद्वेषिणि ।
आसन्ने तदनीकिनीपरिकरे सद्मामरद्रोहिणां
क्षुभ्यत्सत्त्वमुदस्तदुःसहरजो रोहत्तमश्चाभवत् ॥ २१.५१ ॥

3 धिङ्मूढा वितथमुदासनस्वभावं भाषन्ते पुरुष तव त्रिलोकभर्तुः ।
कर्त्री चेत्प्रकृतिरियं करोतु किंचित्कैवल्यं भवदधिरोहमन्तरेण ॥ १७.२० ॥

4 See foot note 1.

5 यासां शरीरं पदमन्तरात्मा वाक्यं प्रमाणं परिकर्ममार्गः ।
विद्वन्मुखालंकरणं गिरस्ताः सिषेविरे तत्परिपार्श्ववृत्तिम् ॥ २०.३७ ॥

6 Cf. परिकर्मशब्देन च स्थितिहेतुश्चित्तसंस्कार उच्यते । पृ. २६ योगसारसंग्रहे द्वितीयोंऽशः ।

(1) Cittaprasāda or the peace of mind,

(2) Viṣayavatīpravṛttiḥ or the objective cognition [7],

(3) Viśokā Jyotiṣmatī i.e. the Joyous Bright cognition [8]

(4) Viraktacittacintanam i.e. the contemplation of beings with dispassioned minds.

(5) Svapnanidrānyatarajñānacintanam i.e. contemplation of the cognition either of dream or of deep sleep,

(6) Yathābhimatadhyānam or desirable cognition.

Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika

There is a covert allusion to the three types of causes viz. the intimate or inherent (Samavāyi) cause, the non-intimate or non-inherent (Asamavāyi) cause and the instrumental (Nimitta) cause in XVII.19[9]. Moreover the intimate connection (Samavāya) of the thing (Guṇin) and its attribute (Guṇa) is referred to in XVII. 23.[10]

The famous principle of the effect inheriting the attributes of the cause [11] is made use of in XI. 70[12] ; XVIII. 7; 48.[13]

The antecedent-negation (Prāgabhāva) is mentioned in IV.52.

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7 Cf. विषया गन्धादयः तन्मात्ररूपाः। अल्पेनाभ्यासयोगेन तत्साक्षात्कारो विषयवती प्रवृत्ति-रुच्यते। op.cit.

8 Cf. The Bright cognition is of two kinds: (1) the perception of the thinking principle (Buddhi) and (2) the perception of the spirit as discerned from Nature and her emanations.

9 नन्वेवं किमपि विनिर्मलं प्रकृत्या त्वद्रूपं सुरसरिदम्बुवत्पुनीते।
स्रोतोभिस्त्रिभिरथ कारणात्मभिस्तद्विश्वात्मन्कृतकमपि व्यनक्ति भेदम् ॥ १७.१९ ॥

10 कुत्रापि प्रतिहतिमेति नान्तरिक्षं शब्दस्तद्गुणपदवीं न चातिशेते।
तन्मूर्तिस्त्वमसि च तद्विभो जगन्ति व्याप्नोषीत्ययमुपपत्तिसंप्रदायः ॥ १७.२३ ॥

11 कारणगुणाः कार्यगुणानारभन्ते।

12 न नूतनं तत्प्रमदाश्रुवृष्टिं दृष्टौ यदासादितवल्लभानाम्।
तनोषि चन्द्र प्रथमस्त्वमत्रेरानन्दजन्मा हि दृगम्बुबिन्दुः ॥ ११.७० ॥

13 कश्चिद्विशङ्कटपटुभ्रुकुटीकराल-
भालस्थलः किमपि घोरतरं बभाषे।
नीतो रुषा कलुषतां स हठात्प्रवीरो
वाचां कथं त्वपरुषं प्रसरं व्यनक्तु ॥ १८.७ ॥
ताम्रीभवन्मुखततिर्विततोज्जिहान-
भ्रूभङ्गधूमलहरीविकरालिताशः।
तापं किमप्यनुसरञ्शिखिभूरवाप
तत्र स्वकारणगुणानुगुणामवस्थाम् ॥ १८.४८ ॥

The principle of the antecedence of the cause to the effect is negatively suggested in I.2; VI.29.

Sphoṭa—The Theory of the Grammarians.

According to the grammarians sound is eternal and is called sphoṭa which is referred to in XVII.22.[14] Sphoṭa really means the sound of a word as a whole, and as conveying a meaning, apart from its component letters.

Moreover, they further believe that the eternal word (sound) which is called sphoṭa, and is without parts is the true cause of the world[15] (XVII.22).

Vedānta Doctrines

With the decrease of ignorance (avidyā) the appearance of duality vanishes and the non-duality shines forth (III. 37). In VII.48 there is an express mention of monism (Advayavāda).

That the Supreme Soul is immanent in every being and thing of the universe[16] is stated in XVII.18.[17] The omniscience of the Supreme Soul of the universe is also stated in XVII.18. The poet refers to the artificiality of difference and consequently to the unreality of difference in XVII.19.[18] He referes to Kaivalya or the state of oneness in XVII.20.[19] That the Supreme Soul alone is devoid of all limiting adjuncts is mentioned in XVII.21.[20]

It is stated in XVII.28[21] that illusion i.e. Māyā though irresistible cannot approach Śiva who is described as 'not this' (Neti Neti) by the good and who

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14 किं कर्तुं तव पुरतोऽथ किं नु वक्तुं शक्ष्यामः क्षितिधरराजमूर्धशायिन् ।
त्वं खण्डं क्वचिदपि नो पदं व्यनक्षि त्रैलोक्यं ध्वनिवपुषश्च ते विवर्तः ॥ १७.२२ ॥

15 Cf. जगन्निदानं स्फोटाख्यो निरवयवो नित्यः शब्दो ब्रह्मैवेति हरिणाभाणि ब्रह्मकाण्डे–
अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं तदक्षरम् ।
विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥ (वाक्यप. १।१) इति ।
पृ० २९८, पाणिनिदर्शनम्, सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहः––
महामहोपाध्याय वासुदेवशास्त्रि अभ्यंकरेण सम्पादितः ।

16 Cf. सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म । छान्दोग्य उप० ३ । १४ । १.
also 'एको देवः सर्वभूतेषु गूढः सर्वव्यापी सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा' श्वेताश्वतर उप० ६ । ११

17 विश्वेषां पुरि पुरि यत्सदैव शेषे विद्वद्भिः पुरुष इति प्रतीयसे तत् ।
किं धामत्रितयमयानपायदृष्टेस्तस्मात्ते जगति परोक्षमस्ति वस्तु ॥ १७.१८ ॥

18 See foot note 9.

19 See foot note 3.

20 See foot note 1.

21 यं माया क्वचिदनिरुद्धयमानरूपा न स्प्रष्टुं प्रभवति नेति नेति सन्तः ।
यस्मिंश्च व्यवहृतिमाचरन्ति तं त्वां तात्पर्यादुपनिषदो विभो गृणन्ति ॥ १७.२८ ॥

is mentioned as their purport by the Upaniṣads. That Śiva is omnipotent and omniscient, being of the nature of light is mentioned in XVII. 29.[22] Therein it is also stated that deliberation exhibits unity in diversity and does not proclaim the fault of difference in respect of Śiva. The doctrine of grace is mentioned in XVII. 32.[23] Maṅkha refers to Advaita or non-duality in XX.13[24].

Buddhist Doctrines

There is a reference to the theory of the yogācāras or the Vijñānavādins that there is nothing external in this world except consciousness and that the external objects are only a creation of the consciousness in XVII. 24.[25] Therein Maṅkha states by way of criticism that even the Bauddhas have not repudiated the status of being a creator of the world of the Supreme Being since He is of the nature of consciousness.

The doctrine of momentariness (Kṣaṇikatva) is clearly referred to in III.55.

The doctrine of nihilism (Śūnyavāda) is referred to in VI. 18. In XVII. 25,[26] Maṅkha refers to the theory of the Śūnyavāda or Mādhyamika School that the Ultimate Reality is incomprehensible by any of the four modes of predication[27] (koṭis) and therefore it is so very minute that it is called Śūnya or void though not actually void in itself. Therein the poet sarcastically remarks that the Śūnyavādins also have accepted Śiva as the Ultimate Reality by accepting the Ultimate Reality to be incomprehensible by the four modes of predication as Śiva Himself is.

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22 एकस्त्वं त्रिनयन दृश्यसेऽधिकर्तुं ज्ञातुं च त्रिभुवनमीश्वरः प्रकाशः ।
तादात्म्यं विवृतवती विमर्शशक्तिर्द्वैधेऽपि प्रथयति ते न भेददोषम् ॥ १७.२९ ॥

23 क्वावत्स्यत्कथमजनिष्यत प्रकाशं प्राणिष्यत्कथमथवैष जीवलोकः ।
आ सर्गादखिलजगद्गरिष्ठ नो चेत्कारुण्यात्प्रभुरभविष्यदष्टमूर्तिः ॥ १७.३२ ॥

24 रथेऽवतस्थे दिवसो निशा च पूर्णेन्दुपूष्णोर्घटना च जज्ञे ।
इत्थं विरोधेऽपि बताखिलानामन्योन्यमद्वैतमिवाविरासीत् ॥ २०.१३ ॥

25 नो किंचिद्बहिरुपपत्तिमेति वस्तु ज्ञानात्तत्प्रसरति किंतु चित्रवृत्ति ।
ज्ञानात्मा प्रभुरिति विश्वकर्तृभावो नो बौद्धैरपि भवतो बत व्यपास्तः ॥ १७.२४ ॥

26 शून्यं तैरकथि न तुच्छमेव रूपं मादृक्षानधिगमनीयवृत्ति किं तु ।
तादृक्षं तव च वपुस्तथा च बौद्धास्त्वामेव क्व न परमार्थतो गृणन्ति ॥ १७.२५ ॥

27 न सन्नासन्न सदसन्न चाप्यनुभयात्मकम् ।
चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं तत्त्वं माध्यमिका विदुः ॥
(Saraha in Subhāṣita-Saṅgraha, Fol. 17, ed. Bendall, Le Museon N.S. IV. 1903, P. 389).

Jain Doctrine

There is a reference to the Jain doctrine that the individual soul is of the same size as that of the body of the individual. The poet however cleverly states in XVII. 26[28] that the all-pervading nature of Śiva is accepted by the Jainas who believe that the soul is of the same dimension as the body since He is immanent in the universe.

Cārvāka Doctrine

The creation of the world full of diversity and the throbbing of creatures proceed from nature or Svabhāva according to Cārvākas. This their doctrine is referred to in XVII. 27.[29]

In III. 59[30] also Lokāyata system which is another name of Cārvāka doctrine is referred to.

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28 बोधात्मन्यनवधितां त्वयीह जानन्त्यन्यानि त्रिनयन सन्तु दर्शनानि ।
आत्मा त्वं तव च वपुस्त्रयोऽपि लोकास्तन्मानं त्वमिति च नार्हतोऽस्ति गर्हा ॥ १७.२६ ॥

29 त्रैलोक्यं विभजति यो विचित्रतन्त्रं यस्माच्च प्रसरति सर्वजीवलोकः ।
चार्वाकास्तमिह वदन्ति यत्स्वभावं तद्भङ्गया त्वमसि शिवोररीकृतस्तैः ॥ १७.२७ ॥

30 वहत्यनिर्वेदगतिं न मुञ्चति द्विजाधिराजश्रियि वर्धनोद्यमम् ।
बतोपयुङ्क्ते च बहुप्रमाणतामुपोढलोकायतवृत्ति यद्यशः ॥ ३.५९

CHAPTER VI

MAṄKHA'S ERUDITION

Pauranic Stories

The different philosophical doctrines availed of by our poet in this poem have been examined in the previous chapter. As he was equally proficient in the pauranic literature also his poem abounds in many myths and legends. Some of them throw light on the cultural background of the medieval India.

An attempt, to analyse these myths and legends, is made below in the alphabetical order of the names with which they are associated.

Agastya

There is a covert allusion to the story of the ocean being drunk up by the sage Agastya [1] in XII. 55.

Agni

At the time of Sun-set and thereafter up to Sun-rise Agni bears the light of the Sun (X. 17).

In X. 17 it is also stated that parrots are yoked to the chariot of Agni.

He is referred to as the husband of Svāhā in XVI. 37.

Aditi

The gods are spoken of as the sons of Aditi in XXIV. 36.

Andhakāsura

He was a demon, killed by Śiva [2] (V. 16).

Ādi and Baka were his (Andhakāsura's) sons. Andhakāsura attempted to abduct the Devī (Pārvatī) in the presence of Śiva in the Mahākālavana of Avanti. When he was smitten by Pāśupata, blood came out of his body, out of which were born numberless Andhakas who overpowered Rudra. Śiva then created a number of Mātṛs who were not enough to meet them. So he thought Vāsudeva who created one Śuṣkarevatī who drank off the blood of Andhakas. On his submission he was admitted to the group of Gaṇeśas.

Apsarases

Apsarases are referred to in IX. 36. They are referred to as the beauties of heaven in IX. 37.

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1 Pmp. I. 19 ; Mbh. III. 105.

2 MP. 55.16 ; 156.11-12 ; 179. 2-40 ; 252. 5-19.

Arjuna

He is referred to as Sitāśva (One having white horses at his yoke) in V. 32. His encounter with Śiva who was in the form of a Kirāta is also referred to in V. 32.

Balarāma

He was the elder brother of Lord Kṛṣṇa and was famous for his attachment for wine (XIV. 2; 47). He used to wield a plough in his hand.

Once upon a time Balarāma had drunk while playing in the Vṛndāvana. He was afflicted by the heat. He asked Yamunā to remove his affliction by sprinkling water on him. But when the river did not listen to him, he dragged[3] her forcibly with the sharp edge of his plough and made her flow in the Vṛndāvana.

There is a covert allusion to the above story of Balarāma's dragging the river Yamunā in XIV. 47 also.

Brahmā

In I.14 it is stated that the swans attend on Brahmā while in I.21 ; XII.54; XVI. 30-31 it is stated that the swans are His vehicle. In I.21 ; 43 ; V. 24 ; XII. 54; XVI. 30 and XX. 61 it is stated that the lotus is His abode while lotus is spoken of as His progenitor in V. 46 ; 52 ; XVII. 37.[4] He is referred to as an ancient poet in I. 24 and V. 47. The springing up of the Vedas from the mouths of Brahmā is mentioned in XX. 35.

Once Kāma made him a target of his arrows as a result of which He was enamoured of His own daughter Sandhyā. Kāma on seeing this passion of Brahmā laughed at Him whereupon he was cursed by Brahmā.[5] This story is referred to in XII. 22.

His becoming a charioteer of Śiva at the time of His attacking Tripuras is mentioned in XX. 35 ; 61.

Bṛhaspati

He is referred to as Vācaspati in II.52 and as Vākpati in XX. 23. That his intellect is sharper than the lotus fibre is stated in XVI. 47.

He is known as the son of Aṅgiras (XVI. 47 ; XX. 34).

He is an obstacle in the way of Asuras in ascending to the position of an Indra (XX. 34).

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3 Cf. VP. V. 8-11.

4 MP. 169. 2 ; Mbh. (Kumbha ed.) III. 273. 45 ; Bhā P. III. 8.15.

5 MP. IV. 3-20 ; Kālikāpurāṇa III. 1-4.

Candra

The story of his coming out of the ocean (of milk) is referred to in IV.4.[6]

He is spoken of as the lord of vegetable kingdom in IV. 46; V. 53 and X. 35.

His being eclipsed by Rāhu is referred to in V. 28 and XI. 56.

His forming the left eye of Śiva is mentioned in IV. 61 and V. 25.

It is stated in I. 1; 5; V. 22; 26; 28; 30; X. 52 and XI. 56 that the crescent moon is worn by Śiva as a crown.

His friendship with Cupid is a legendary one which is referred to in V. 41; XI. 63.

He is considered to be the husband of the twenty-seven lunar mansions which were the daughters of Dakṣa, the lord of created beings (XI. 41; XII. 37).

He was born from the tears of joy of the sage Atri [7]. This story is referred to in XI. 70.

He is believed to be the first progenitor of the race of Kṣatriyas (XIV. 61).

Dakṣa

He was a Prajāpati and the father-in-law of Śiva who performed a sacrifice in which he invited all the gods except Śiva. Not only that; he openly insulted Śiva in the assembly. His own daughter and wife of Śiva, Satī got so much angry at that that she burnt herself to ashes by the fire from her toe which had arisen as a result of intense contemplation. When Śiva came to know of this He got angry and created Vīrabhadra by dashing one of the locks of His hair on the ground and ordered him to destroy the sacrifice of Dakṣa, whereupon Vīrabhadra destroyed it[8]. (V. 17).

Diti

Her motherhood with reference to the Asuras or demons is referred to in XXIV. 33.

Gaṅgā

She is believed to be a goddess having a crocodile for her vehicle. This feature is referred to in V. 41.

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6 MP. 250.2 ; Vi. I. 9.97.

7 Cf. नेत्राभ्यां वारि सुस्राव दशधा द्योतयद्दिशः ।
तद्गर्भविधिना हृष्टा दिशो देव्यो दधुस्तदा ।
समेत्य धारयामासुर्न चैताः समशक्नुवन् ।
स ताभ्यः सहसैवाथ दिग्भ्यो गर्भः प्रभान्वितः ।
पपात पावयँल्लोकाञ्छीतांशुः सुरभावनः । HV. I. 25.6-8

8 Bhā. IV. 5 (whole); Vā. 30 (whole).

Gajāsura[9]

He was a demon who had assumed the form of an elephant and who was killed by Śiva who puts on his skin. This story is referred to in V. 14; 15; 29.

Gaṇapati

His having a face of an elephant is stated in I. 38-40; XXI. 6; 9.

Harihara

This joint form of Śiva and Viṣṇu is referred to in III. 70; 73; V. 37 and X. 40. This is the same as the Śiva-Nārāyaṇa form mentioned in the Matsya-purāṇa (Ch. 260), which gives directions for constructing the idol representing the said form.[10] Vidyāraṇya's Śaṅkaradigvijaya (XII. 7-8) records that at a sacred place called Hariśaṅkara, Śaṅkarācārya worshipped Hari and Śiva who represented the emblem of unity.[11]

The Harihara form is also mentioned in the Harṣacarita.[12]

There is a temple at Visnagar in the North Gujarat where the idol of Harihara is worshipped in the temple called Hariharalalji Temple.[13]

Indra

His possessing a thousand eyes is mentioned in IV. 20 and XVII. 39.

Because of his killing a demon called Bala, he is renowned as Balabhid (IV. 62)[14].

Since he had killed Vṛtrāsura[15] he became polluted by the sin of killing a

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9 MP. 55.16.

10 वामार्धे माधवं विद्याद्दक्षिणे शूलपाणिनम् । MP. 260. 22.

11 अद्वैतमुद्रामिह दर्शयन्तौ । Śaṅkaradigvijaya of Vidyāraṇya XII. 8.

12 संपृक्तावतारमिव हरिहरयोर्दर्शयन्तम् ॥ Bombay Sanskrit And Prakrit Series, No. LXVI. Ch. IV, p. 192.

13 Vide Dr. A. N. Jani, ' A Critical Study of Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīyacaritam ', p. 146.

14 Bhā. V. 24. 16; VIII. 11. 19–21, 28. The story is found in another form in the Rig Veda also. " Vala is a guardian of cows, whom Indra rent when he robbed Paṇi of his cows (10, 67[6] Cp. 6, 39[2]). He laments for his cows when taken by Bṛhaspati (10, 68[10] Cp. 67[6]). He has castles which were forced open by Indra (6, 18[15]) fences which were pierced by Indra (I, 52[5]), and an unbroken summit which was broken by Indra (6, 39[2])...... Indra is said to have driven out the cows and opened (apavar) the vala (2, 14[3]) or to have opened (apāvar) the aperture (Cp. 1, 32[11]) of the vala containing cows (1, 11[5]). . The connection of the verb bhid with the name of Vala is preserved in Valabhid which is a frequent epithet of Indra in post-Vedic literature. Here Vala is regarded as the brother of Vṛtra, and the two are associated in Indra's compound epithet valavṛtra-han. " Macdonell, Vedic Mythology pp. 159-160. Thus, we can see that Vala of Vedic times became Bala afterwards.

15 Macdonell in his Vedic Mythology states that Vṛtra is the chief adversary of Indra for whose slaughter that deity is said to have been born or grown (8, 78[5]; 10, 55). Hence the most distinctive epithet of Indra is Vṛtrahan. Vṛtra is conceived as having the form of a serpent, Vide p. 158.

Brahmin and had to hide himself in a lotus-stalk[16] in the Mānasa lake. This story is hinted at in XVI. 47.

His killing a demon, called Namuci[17] is referred to in XVII. 17.

Indra's killing another demon called Ahi with the help of foam on the sea-shore is also referred to in XIX. 16.

Once upon a time, Indra struck the mountains with his thunderbolt. This legend is referred to in XXIV. 36.

The elephant Airāvata is suggestively spoken of as his vehicle in XIX. 20.

The horse Uccaiḥśravas is also mentioned as his another vehicle in XX. 20.

Kadru

Kadru had the progeny of serpents. Eagle (Garuḍa) began to eat them as a consequence of a boon from Indra. So the king of serpents viz. Vāsuki propitiated Viṣṇu and asked for a place free from the danger of Garuḍa. Viṣṇu thereupon gave them a place in Satīsaras, a lake in Kashmir[18] (III. 13).

Kāma

He is referred to as Pañcaśara[19] and as a first striker of Śiva in I. 43. He was burnt to ashes by the fire from the third eye of Lord Śiva when he tried to obstruct Him while practising penance[20]. This story is alluded to in I. 1–4; 13; IV. 44; V. 8; 21; XI. 63; XII. 17; 95; XIV. 40 etc.

He is also known as Puṣpaśara (V. 23; XIV. 10; XV. 33). In X. 51; XIV. 33; 68 and XV. 2 it is stated that flowers are his arrows. He is referred to as ketakaśara in XI. 35.

He is called Kusumadhanvan (a wielder of a bow made up of flowers) in V. 54; XV. 6. He is renowned as Puṣpāyudha (VI. 29) as well as Kusumāyudha (VIII. 21; XI. 3; 63).

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16 Bhāg. VI. 13. 10–15.

17 Macdonell States : " Indra destroyed a hundred castles, slaying Vṛtra and Namuci (7, 19^{5}). The characteristic feature of the conflict is that Indra twirls (√ math) off the head of Namuci (5, 30^{8}, 6, 20^{6}), while he is said to pierce (√ bhid) that of Vṛtra. Otherwise Indra is described as having twisted (Vartaya) the head of Namuci (5, 30^{7}) or to have twisted it off with the foam of water (8, 14^{13}). The Brāhmaṇas also refer to Indra's cutting off Namuci's head with the foam of the waters " Vedic Mythology, p. 162.

18 Cf. Sts. 51–68 of Nīlamatapurāṇa edited by K. D. Vreese.

19 Cf. अरविंदमशोकं च चूतं च नवमल्लिका ।
नीलोत्पलं च पञ्चैते पञ्चबाणस्य सायकाः ॥
also संमोहनोन्मादनौ च शोषणस्तापनस्तथा ।
स्तंभनश्चेति कामस्य पंचबाणाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

20 Bhā. VIII. 7. 32; X. 55.2.

He is called Mīnāvacūla (V. 48) as well as Mīnāṅka (VI. 73 ; XI. 2; XII. 25) and also Jhaṣāvacūla (VI. 41; XV. 39). His banner has the fish as its emblem (XII. 11).

He is renowned as Manasija (a mind-born one) (V. 49; XI. 64; XIV. 39; XV. 2).

He is referred to as the husband of Rati in V. 52; 55; VII. 1; 3; XI. 44; XII. 12; XIV. 13 etc.

Women are considered to be his missiles (XII. 20).

For the story of Kāma's being cursed by Brahmā see under Brahmā.

Kāmadhenu

Her name was Surabhī. Nandinī was her daughter. Nandinī was obtained by Vasiṣṭha for getting clarified butter from her milk for sacrificial purposes. Once upon a time, king Viśvāmitra along with his army happened to pass by the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha who invited him to be his guest for sometime along with his army. At that time Vasiṣṭha supplied him varieties of cooked food in such a large quantity that it proved more than enough for the whole army. When asked Vasiṣṭha told Viśvāmitra that it was due to Nandinī that he was able to do so because she could supply him by her miraculous powers whatever he wished to have. Thereupon Viśvāmitra tried to snatch her away by force. But it was in vain. Because of her ability to fulfil the desires of others, she was called Kāmadhenu. Then by the expansion of idea the word Kāmadhenu came to be applied to a thing or a person that was able to fulfil the wishes of others. In this sense the poet has used the word in VIII. 24.

Kinnaras

They are beings with human figures and horse's heads (XVI. 54).

Kubera

He is referred to in III. 1 as one conversant with the northern direction. He is referred to as a person possessing immense wealth in IV. 1; XVI. 40.

That he possesses the aerial car called Puṣpaka is mentioned in XVI. 41.

He is referred to as a friend of Śiva in XVI. 41.

He is referred to as the lord of the Kiṃpuruṣas or semi-human beings also called Kinnaras in XX. 21.

Kṛṣṇa

He subjugated a dreadful serpent called Kālīya. While subjugating he kicked the serpent often on its hood so strongly that the imprints of his feet in the crushed hood appeared like the figure of a lotus hence the serpent was named

Mahāpadma [21] (one with a big lotus) thereafter. This story is referred to in III. 9.

His being an incarnation of Viṣṇu is suggestively alluded to in XXIV. 8. It is stated in XXV. 51 that the fourteen worlds reside in His belly.

His conquering a demon called Bāṇa [22] along with his allies is referred to in XXIV. 9.

Lakṣmī

That Lakṣmī has a lotus for Her abode is stated in I. 32; 33; III. 28; V. 35; VI. 3; IX. 28 ; X. 3 ; XXII. 6 etc.

Her coming out of the ocean is mentioned in V. 35 also in X. 3.

Mandara

Mandara is the name of a mountain which served as a bow of Śiva when He fought with Tripura [23] (V. 5 ; 7).

Mandara was also used as a churning stick by the gods at the time of the churning of ocean by gods and demons [24] (V. 35).

Marutta

Lord Śiva showered the rain of gold on king Marutta who wanted to perform a sacrifice. Samvarta the son of Aṅgiras and the younger brother of Bṛhaspati was the family priest of Marutta. Marutta and his predecessors ruled over Hiraṇmaya.[25] The story of Marutta occurs in the Mahābhārata [26] and the Viṣṇupurāṇa.[27] The above story of Marutta is referred to in I. 12.

Mārtaṇḍa [28]

Mārtaṇḍa or Sun god is mentioned as situated in proximity of a tīrtha called Kapaṭeśvara in III. 15[29].

The legend related in the Mārtaṇḍa māhātmya connects the springs with the story of the production of the Sun from the lifeless egg (mṛtāṇḍa), which Aditi the wife of Kaśyapa, had brought forth as her thirteenth child [30].

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21 Cf. " Mahāpadma is sometimes identified with the Nāga Kālīya who was vanquished by Kṛṣṇa. As the foot of the god when touching the Nāga's head had made lotuses appear on it Mahāpadma is treated by Kāśmīrian poets as another form of Kālīya." Dr. M. A. Stein, translation of Rājataraṅgiṇī, Vol. II., P. 424.

22 Bhāg. X. 63.

23 SKP. V. iii. 28 . 9.

24 Bhāg. VIII. 6. 33-35; VIII 7.1.

25 Vide M. M. Yagnik, Genealogical Tables of Solar and Lunar dynasties, P. 11.

26 Mbh. Aśvamedhaparva chapters 4 to 8 (Gītā press ed.).

27 Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. chapters 1-18. (Venkateswara Steam press ed.).

28 The tīrtha of Mārtaṇḍa is already mentioned in the Nīlamata 1036 (Lahore edition).

29 According to Dr. Stein reference to the Tīrtha here is a doubtful allusion. Vide I., P. 141.

30 Vide Dr. Stein, translation of Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, Vol. I., P. 141.

Maināka

In ancient times, mountains had got wings. Often they used to fly over and even land on cities, forests etc. and ruined many creatures. So Indra got angry and began to cut their wings with his thunderbolt. Maināka was a friend of the ocean and so Maināka took refuge in it to save his wings.

There is a covert allusion to this story in IX. 52 also in XII. 50. However there is a clear reference to this story in XXIV. 36.

Paraśurāma

In order to take revenge of his father Jamadagni's murder, Paraśurāma who was an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, annihilated the Kṣatriyas and bathed himself in the tanks of their blood twenty-one times.

This legend is referred to in XIX. 62.

Pārvatī

She is a daughter of the mountain Himālaya, hence she is called Girirājaputrī in VII. 13; Śikhariduhitā in VII. 44; 64; Giriduhitā in VII. 9; Himavadduhitā in VIII. 4; and Śailaduhitā in IX. 15. In Her previous birth Pārvatī was the daughter of Dakṣa. This fact is mentioned in IV. 54.

Her friend is Vijayā who always stands by Her through thick and thin (VIII. 6).

Pārvatī is also called Mṛḍānī in VIII. 10.

Pārvatī's using a skull as Her pot for drinking is mentioned in I. 20. Her having serpents on Her matted hair like Her Lord is also mentioned therein.

The dancing of goddess Pārvatī (Caṇḍikā) at the time of evening twilight is mentioned in I.19.

Pārvatī's having a lion for Her vehicle is stated in I. 18; 47; IV. 54 and V. 50.

Rati

She is considered to be the spouse of Kāma. She is matchless in point of beauty. Her intelligence and loyalty to Kāma decorate her all the more (XII. 18-24).

Rāhu

He is referred to as a son of a demoness called Siṃhikā in XXII. 15. That his body and head remain segregated is also referred to in XXII. 15. He is known to be an enemy of the Sun (XXII. 15).

Rāma

The story of his building a bridge over the ocean is referred to in XI.10.[31]

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31 RM. VI. 22 ; Mbh. (Gītā Press ed.), III. 283-84.

There is a covert allusion to His killing Tāḍakā [32] in XII. 15.

Rāvaṇa

Once upon a time, Rāvaṇa lifted up the peak of the mountain Kailāsa [33]. This story is referred to in IV. 21 ; 43 ; and XXIII. 30.

He had a sword called Candrahāsa which is referred to in XI. 10.

Śeṣanāga

He is referred to in I. 29; IV. 57. That Viṣṇu lies on the coiled body of Śeṣa [34] is mentioned in I. 30; V. 22.

That he possesses two thousand eyes and two thousand tongues is mentioned in II. 52.

He is represented as serving Lord Viṣṇu's spouse Lakṣmī in III. 28.

Śiva

The crescent moon worn as the crown of Śiva is referred to in I. 1; 5; V. 22; 26; 28; 30; 33; VII. 5; IX. 46; 47; 50; 56; XI. 65 etc.

The Sun and the Moon are represented as forming His two eyes in IV. 61; V. 25; XVII. 16.

The fire in the middle of the fore-head is mentioned in I. 5; V. 31 etc.

The consuming to ashes of cupid [35] by the fire in the fore-head of Śiva is referred to in I. 3-4; 13; IV. 44; V. 8; 23; 48; 49; 52; XI. 63; XII. 17; 95; XVI. 37; XIX. 29; XX. 53 etc.

By burning cupid the fire in the third eye of Śiva caused the streak of tears of the wife of cupid (Rati) is mentioned in I. 2; V. 21.

His bearing the Ganges on His head is stated in I. 9; 15; V. 30; X. 23 etc.

In I. 7 it is stated that the Ganges even though situated on His head as it were circumambulates Śiva by means of the whirlpools.

His body being smeared with ashes is referred to in I. 10; V. 51; IX. 49; 56.

Its being entangled by the snakes is also referred to in I. 10; V. 55; 57.

Śiva's laughing loudly is stated in I. 8.

The cutting off and the placing on His own head of one of the five heads of Brahmā by Śiva [36] is referred to in I. 14; V. 24; 47; 52; XVI. 32; XVII. 33; XX. 55.

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32 Vide RM (Crit. ed.) I. 25. 14.

33 RM. VII. 16. 25-26.

34 Bhāg. III. 8.

35 Bhā. VIII. 7. 32; X. 55. 2.

36 MP. III. 30-40; ŚVP. I. 1. 8; PmP. I. 14 and 17.

Having mounted the bed in the form of the eye of Śiva god of death slept for ever in the doomsday-night in the form of Śiva's eye-brow emitting darkness in the form of anger[37] is referred to in I. 17; XVI. 43; XVIII. 12; XIX 29; XX. 53.

Śiva's conjoint form[38] (Ardhanārīśvara) in which the left half part of His body is made up of that very part of the body of His spouse Pārvatī is mentioned in I. 48 ; III. 45; V. 20 ; 31 ; 50 ; 54 ; 55 ; 56 ; 57 ; XI. 65 ; XIX. 65.

His fondness for Tāṇḍava dance is stated in I. 49-50 ; IV. 14 ; V. 10 ; X. 22 ; 23 etc.

A bull is mentioned as His vehicle in I. 54 ; V. 25 ; 50.

At the time of universal destruction (Kalpānta) Śiva destroys the whole world[39] (IV. 31 ; XI. 55).

Śiva rescued a sage called Śveta from the fetters of death.[40] This story is referred to in IV. 9.

The Lord of the gods viz. Indra also bows down to Śiva whose abode is the mountain Kailāsa (V. 1).

At the time of His fight with Tripura, mountain Mandara was made His bow (V. 5).

The body of the serpent Vāsuki served Him as His bow-string (V. 5).

His eight forms[41] are referred to in V. 11 ; 43 ; 44; VIII. 3 ; XVI. 5 ; 23; XVII. 32 ; XX. 52. One of His eight forms is the individual soul (XX. 30).

At the time of universal destruction, God Śiva devours all the three worlds (V. 12; XX. 54).

The demon Gajāsura was vanquished by Him[42] (V. 14; 15; 29).

Similarly He vanquished the demon Andhakāsura[43] (V. 16).

He destroyed the sacrifice of Dakṣa[44] wherefrom the priests ran away (V. 17).

He is renowned as a three-eyed god (V. 25; XVII. 18).

He wields an axe (V. 25).

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37 SKP. I. i. 32. 36.

38 Br. II. 25. 64-76 ; IV. 5. 15-30; ŚVP. III. 3. 2-8 ; VII. 15. 7-9.

39 Br. III. 25. 22-24.

40 LgP. I. 30.

41 ŚVP. III. 2. 2-12.

42 MP. 55. 16.

43 MP. 156. 11–12; 179. 2–40; 252. 5–19.

44 Bhā. IV. 5.

He is called Sthāṇu (V. 25).

In order to test the valour of Arjuna, He appeared before him in the form of a Kirāta (Dāśa) (V. 32).

Once upon a time, Brahmā and Viṣṇu vied with each other for superiority. In the meanwhile there appeared a big phallus made up of fire before them. They came to an agreement that he who would discover the extremity of the phallus would be considered superior of the two. Brahmā went upwards and Viṣṇu downwards to find out the end of the phallus of Śiva. But both were unsuccessful. Still Brahmā besought the Surabhi cow and the Ketakī flower to aver falsely that he had seen and worshipped the other crest of the great phallus. A voice from the air condemned them as false witnesses and Brahmā together with the cow and the flower were subjected to various curses as a result of which the Ketakī flower was excluded from the worship of Śiva.[45]

Another version of the story does not mention Surabhi, Brahmā and Ketakī alone were cursed by Śiva for speaking a falsehood.[46] Maṅkha refers to this myth in V. 46.

This myth seems to be one of the popular ones as it is mentioned in a verse, quoted by Somadeva from an earlier text.[47] Puṣpadanta also in his well-known hymn to Lord Śiva refers to this story.[48] There are also important sculptural representations of this legend.[49]

That Śiva bears in His throat deadly poison which had arisen from ocean is mentioned in V. 36; 37; IX. 46; 49; XVII. 23. By the effect of it His throat appears black. Hence He is called Nīlakaṇṭha (IX. 53).

That Śiva bears a snake in the matted hair is mentioned in V. 53; VI. 68.

His abode is the mountain Kailāsa as mentioned in IV. 1; 27; 42; 48; V. 1; VI. 68.

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45 SKP. I. 106.

46 SKP. I. iii (b).

47 आस्तां तवान्यदपि तावदतुल्यकक्ष-
मैश्वर्यमीश्वरपदस्य निमित्तभूतम् ।
त्वच्छेकसोऽपि भगवन्न गतोऽवसानं
विष्णुः पितामहयुतः किमुतापरस्य ॥ Y.T.V.

48 तवैश्वर्यं यत्नाद्यदुपरि विरिंचो हरिरधः
परिच्छेत्तुं यातावनलमनलस्कन्धवपुषः ।
ततो भक्तिश्रद्धाभरगुरुगृणद्भ्यां गिरिश यत्
स्वयं तस्थे ताभ्यां, तव किमनुवृत्तिर्न फलति ॥ Mahimnaḥ-stotra st. 10.

49 For this vide Prof. Handiqui, Yaśastilaka PP. 435–436. The Ellora Cave sculpture is in keeping with Puṣpadanta's stanza.

He is called Giriśa (VIII. 5).

He is also called Maheśvara (VIII. 1).

His another name is Ugra (VIII. 12).

He is renowned as an enemy of cupid (IX. 56).

There is a covert allusion to the story of Śiva's carrying on His shoulder the dead body (actually the skeleton of the dead body) of Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa and the wife of Śiva (XII. 80).

There is a reference to His eleven forms called the eleven Rudras in XVI. 36; 48.

He assumed the three forms viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa which exhibit only artificial difference (XVII. 19).

Once Viṣṇu became a recipient from Śiva (XVII. 33).

Once Śiva taught the science of warfare to Paraśurāma as a consequence He came to be known as Bhārgavaguru (XIX. 7).

Skanda

His springing up from fire and being known as Agnijanman is mentioned in XVIII. 47; 48; XXIII. 21; 24; 28.

His birth from Śaravaṇa[50] is referred to in XXIII. 21.

His having six heads and twelve eyes is mentioned in XVI. 36.

Peacock is mentioned as his vehicle in I. 41; 42; IV. 33; 51; XXI. 5; 16; XXIII. 24.

His other names viz. Kumāra and Viśākha are also mentioned in I. 42.

He is also referred to as Guha in IV. 8.

He is renowned as an antagonist of Tāraka (IV. 51; 54).

His uprooting Tāraka[51] is mentioned in XVI. 35; 36.

Śukra

He is referred to as Kāvya in II. 54.

Sun

At the time of destroying the sacrifice of Dakṣa, the teeth of Pūṣan i.e. the Sun were broken down by one of the followers of Śiva. This story is referred to in V. 42; 52.

Aruṇa who is without the thighs is the charioteer of the Sun (XX. 26).

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50 Br. IV. 30. 83.
51 SKP. I. i 30. 39.

At the time of destruction, many orbs of the Sun appear (XXII. 38).

Surarṣi

There is a reference to the sages of the gods in XII. 38; XIV. 62.

Śveta

There was a sage called Śveta who was freed from the fetters of the god of death by Lord Śiva. This story is referred to in IV. 9[52].

Lord Śiva accepted the post of an officiating priest (in the form of Durvāsas, His incarnation) of the royal-sage Śveta who was performing a sacrifice to avert the fear of death [53] (V. 9).

Varuṇa

He is referred to in IX. 17.

He is mentioned as being the lord of waters in XVI. 45; 46. Consequently he has become famous as Apāṃpati (XX. 22). He is also called Pracetas in XVI. 45.

The western quarter is his favourite quarter (XVI. 45; XVII. 43).

Vāsuki

He is the king of serpents residing in the nether world.

His body was used as a rope at the time of churning of the ocean by gods and demons whereas it was used as a bow-string of Śiva while fighting with Tripura (V. 5).

Vāyu

An antelope is a yoke of Vāyu (IV. 18; VII. 33) hence he is known as Pṛṣadaśva (VI. 60; VIII. 3). This also means whose horses are spotted.

He is renowned as Mātariśvan also (VI. 73).

Vidyādharas

That they have superhuman powers and knowledge is mentioned in XVI. 53.

Viṣṇu

Viṣṇu's carrying all the different worlds in His belly is referred to in I. 25. In III. 12 the ocean of milk is spoken of as His abode.

That a lotus had sprung up from His navel is mentioned in IX. 42; XII. 41; 54.

Kaustubha jewel is mentioned as His ornament in I. 29; 31; V. 37; XX. 43.

His holding a conch is mentioned in XI. 19 while the name of the conch is given as Pāñcajanya in I. 31. Similarly His bearing a disc is mentioned in

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52 LgP. I. 30.

53 Mbh. I. 222. 36-67.

I. 45. Moreover His holding a mace in His hand is mentioned in V. 22. His bow is known as Śārṅga (XIX. 17; XXIV. 9) and His sword as Nandaka (XIX. 17).

An eagle is mentioned as His vehicle in I. 45; V. 22; XX. 42.

In I. 31 and V. 19 it is stated that He bears clouds in the hair on His head[54].

His prostrating before Śiva keeping his head on the ground, scattering flowers from His garland, and lightening lamps by the lightning in the clouds in His hair is mentioned nicely in V. 3.

He is renowned as an enemy of the demons (V. 3; 52).

In I. 45 and XI. 19 it is mentioned that He proved unassailable in His combat with the demon Madhu while His conquering the demon Kaiṭabha is mentioned in V. 37.

His taking the form of a charming damsel to deprive the demons of their possession of nectar is referred to in I. 27[55].

His restoring nectar to gods by cutting off the head of Rāhu with a disc is mentioned in II. 2. His separating the head and body of Rāhu is mentioned again in XI. 61.

He took the form of a manlion (body of a human being and head of a lion) to protect his devotee Prahlāda[56]. This form is referred to in V. 38.

He became a dwarf to deceive Bali[57], the king of demons. This is referred to in I. 28. Bali found himself unable to give by way of alms, land coverable by three foot-steps of the dwarf which he had promised since the dwarf assumed a form so huge as to cover up the whole universe. Thereafter He stepped over the three worlds which is mentioned in XXIV. 10. Consequently Bali was bound by Viṣṇu with the fetters of Varuṇa and was made to reside in the nether world by way of punishment.

This story is hinted at in III. 16.

Viṣṇu is the enemy of the demon Bāṇa, the son of Bali (XX. 63).

Once upon a time, Viṣṇu took a vow to worship Śiva with one thousand lotuses daily. Lord Śiva to test His devotion once removed one lotus from

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54 Cf. केशेषु मेघाच्छ्‌सनं (व) नासिकायामक्ष्णोश्च सूर्यं वदने च वह्निम् ॥ Bhāg. VIII. 20. 26.

also यस्य केशेषु जीमूता नद्यः सर्वाङ्गसन्धिषु ।
कुक्षौ समुद्राश्चत्वारस्तस्मै तोयात्मने नमः ॥

55 Bhāg. VIII. 8. 41-46 and VIII. 9.

56 Bhāg. VII. 8. 18.

57 Bhāg. VIII. 18. 21.

already counted lotuses. Viṣṇu during the worship came to know about the shortage of one lotus, but offered, unhesitatingly, His own eye lotus in place of the flower and appeased Śiva[58].

This story is alluded to in V. 52. It is referred to by Puṣpadanta also.

Buddha's being His ninth incarnation is hinted at in V. 22.

The coming into being of the ganges from the toe of the left foot of Lord Viṣṇu at the time of His traversing the three worlds is referred to in XVI. 33; 35.

His two incarnations that of a fish and of a tortoise are mentioned in XVI. 34.

Viśvāmitra

He is known as Kauśika also. Once upon a time, he began to create a new world for his devotee Triśaṅku but left it half created being implored by the gods[59]. This story is referred to in VI. 56.

For his coming into conflict with Vasiṣṭha for the sake of Kāmadhenu see under Kāmadhenu.

Yama

He is referred to as a son of the Sun in VII. 32; XII. 32; XVI. 42; XXII. 21; 25; 39. He wields a cudgel in his hand (XVI. 42; XIX. 20). He also wields the fetters made up of serpents (VII. 32; XXII. 3; 5; 23; 54; XXIII. 2; 29). His vehicle is a buffalo (XX. 20; XXI. 42; XXII. 19; 30). He devours living beings by his mouth (XXIII. 32; 33).

The river yamunā is considered to be his sister (XII. 32).

Once he was burnt by the fire[60] in the third eye of Śiva (I. 17; XVI. 43; XVIII. 12; XIX. 29).

Yamunā

Yamunā the river, is considered to be a daughter of the Sun (XII. 68).

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58 SKP. II. iv. 32-35; Cf. also

हरिस्ते साहस्रं कमलबलिमाधाय पदयो-
र्यदेकोने तस्मिन्निजमुदहरन्नेत्रकमलम् ।
गतो भक्त्युद्रेकः परिणतिमसौ चक्रवपुषा
त्रयाणां रक्षायै त्रिपुरहर ! जागर्ति जगताम् ॥ Puṣpadanta: Mahimnaḥ-stotra, st. 19.

59 SKP. V. 6. 2. 7.

60 SKP. I. i. 32. 31-36.

CHAPTER VII

MAṄKHA'S ERUDITION

General

According to Maṅkha Śakti or genius is the cause of poetry (II. 4) which is an accepted truth throughout the ages. However Maṅkha considers that scholarship is also an essential equipment of a poet (II. 48). This idea was cherished by many other scholars also in the times of the poet. Śrīharṣa, the author of the Naiṣadhīyacarita provides us with an instance in point. A thorough examination of Śc. reveals to us that the poet has tried to put into practice the above ideal with success. Consequently in Śc. many references to different branches of knowledge are met with. A survey of the literature known to Maṅkha is given below.

Vedas

The Vedas are referred to by the word Śruti in XVII. 30; 46; XXV. 32, and by the word Trayī in XXV. 89. The Ṛcs and Sāmans are referred to in XX. 35 while the Yajūṃṣi are mentioned in XX. 36. The Atharvaveda is referred to in XX. 33 wherein its treating of black magic is suggested by linking it up with a sacrifice in which the oblation consists of blood. The knowers of Vedas are also referred to as Vedavid in XVII. 30.

Vedāṅgas

Out of the six Vedāṅgas i.e. ancillary works, Maṅkha expressly mentions only one viz. Vyākaraṇa (Grammar) in III. 57. However excepting Śikṣā (Phonetics) and Nirukta (Etymology) all the remaining four Vedāṅgas are alluded to in this poem.

Ritual :—We come to know about Maṅkha's knowledge of the ritual from the following references to the ritualistic matters. The poet refers to the sacrifice to destroy the enemies in VI. 71. Therein he also refers to Caru and Yajvan. He refers to the altar (Vedikā) and to the hymns of praise (Stotra) called Sāman which are sung at the time of the sacrifice in XX. 30. He refers to the concluding offering in a sacrifice (Pūrṇāhuti) in XX. 46. He refers to the blazing of fires in three altars in front of Rudra when a sacrifice is going on in XXIV. 25. Avabhṛtha bath after completing a sacrifice is referred to in III. 1. That the people used to worship three kinds of fire (Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya and Dākṣiṇātya) and used to drink Soma is mentioned in III. 4. The poet employs the word Parisamūhana mentioning the details of the process in V. 6; X. 47.

Prosody :—Maṅkha's knowledge of this science can be inferred from the use of various metres in this poem[1].

Grammar :—Maṅkha expressly mentions this science as Vyākaraṇa in III. 57. Moreover he refers to Pāṇini as the systematizer of the science of grammar in XXV. 63; 100. He is also referred to as Sūtrakṛt (the author of the aphorisms) in III. 57. Maṅkha's knowledge of the aphorisms of Pāṇini can be gleaned from certain usages for example the use of आक्रामद्भिः in XI. 75 is correct from the Pāṇinian point of view as here there is no sense of ज्योतिरुद्गमन (rising of a luminary) and hence the आत्मनेपद according to the सूत्र आङ उद्गमने । १।३।४०, is not made available here. Similarly the use of पङ्करुह in XII. 4 is in accordance with the sūtra, तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् । ६।३।१४. In the same way the use of प्रवर्त्स्यति in XII. 15 is made in keeping with the aphorism वृद्भ्यः स्यसनोः ।१।३।९२.

The poet refers to the Gaṇas or the classes into which the roots are divided in XVII. 5; XXI. 32. He also mentions the class of roots which begins with Div in XVII. 5. He refers to the Dhātus or roots that denote actions[2] in XXI. 32.

He refers to Vararuci, the grammarian, as an author of the Vārtika in III. 57. Vararuci is also referred to in XXV. 63. Maṅkha also refers to the Bhāṣya (commentary) of Patañjali in III. 57; XXV. 92.

The traditional belief which represents Patañjali, the author of the great commentary, to be an incarnation of Śeṣa, the king of serpents is given expression to in XXV. 44; 61.

Astronomy :—The poet refers to the planets as Grahas in XII. 61; XVI. 9; XX. 6. He refers to the Sun as the emperor of the planets in XVI. 9. Moreover he refers to the planets Saumya (Mercury), Kāvya (Venus), Aṅgiras (Jupiter) and Bhauma (Mars) in XII. 40. The white colour of the first three planets and the red colour of the Mars are also referred to in XII. 40.

There is a covert allusion to the twenty-seven Nakṣatras (lunar mansions) in XI. 41; XII. 37. Moreover the star of Agastya is also referred to in XII. 55.

The poet refers to the Rāśis (the Signs of the Zodiac) in XI. 72; XII. 39. The Rāśis specifically mentioned by him are two viz. Mīna (Pisces) and Makara (Capricorn) in XII. 39.

He refers to the eclipse of the moon due to Rāhu in V. 28; XI. 56. The reference to Kuhū (a night without moon), Sinīvālī (a night with moon visible), Rākā (a night with full moon) and Anumati (a night in which moon rises full less one digit) in XX. 24 show his knowledge of astronomy.

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1 For the metrical analysis of the text vide Appendix 6.

2 For a list of peculiar grammatical forms vide appendix 5.

Astrology :—Maṅkha refers to the astrologers as Mauhūrtikas in XII. 39. He refers to the benignant effects exercised by the planets when they are situated in the eleventh house in a horoscope in XX. 6. He refers to exactly the seventh position (Samasaptakasthiti) of the Sun and the Moon (in a horoscope) in XXI. 36.

Systems of Philosophy[3]

Now we come to the different systems of philosophy with which Maṅkha seems to be acquainted.

Sāṅkhya :—The Sāṅkhyas maintain that creation starts from Prakṛti or matter when all the three essential qualities constituting it are in equilibrium. This doctrine is referred to in XVII. 20. Therein it is also mentioned that the individual soul is indifferent in the matter of creation. The twenty-five elements beginning with Mahat are referred to in XVII. 21. The three guṇas viz. Sattva, Rajas and Tamas are referred to in XXI. 51.

Yoga :—Maṅkha refers to the technical term Parikarma (the purification of the mind brought about by concentration) in XX. 37. He also refers to the first two stages of Yoga viz. Yama and Niyama out of the eight stages of it in XVII. 48.

Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika :—There are many references to these two systems of philosophy. The Vaiśeṣikas are referred to as Kāṇādas after the name of Kaṇāda the propounder of the Vaiśeṣika system in XVII. 31.

The principle of the antecedence of the cause to the effect is suggested negatively in I. 2; VI. 29.

The principle of the effect inheriting the attributes of the cause[4] is availed of in XI. 70; XVIII. 7; 48.

The intimate connection (Samavāya) of the thing (Guṇin) and its attribute (Guṇa) is referred to in XVII. 23. The poet refers to the three types of causes viz. the intimate or inherent (Samavāyin) cause, the non-intimate or non-inherent (Asamavāyin) cause and instrumental (Nimitta) cause in XVII. 19.

The non-existence before origination (Prāgabhāva) is mentioned in IV. 52.

In VII. 56 and XVII. 23 the poet refers to sound as the special attribute of ether.

The technical terms from these systems are also mentioned in VI. 16. Cf. Pakṣa, Hetu, Māna. Also Saṃvit in XVI. 32.

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3 For details vide chapter 5.

4 कारणगुणाः कार्यगुणानारभन्ते ।

Uttara Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta :—That the Supreme soul of the universe is immanent in every being and thing of this universe[5] is stated in XVII. 18. The poet refers to the artificiality of difference and consequently to the unreality of difference in XVII. 19. He refers to Kaivalya or the state of oneness in XVII. 20. In XVII. 21 it is stated that the Supreme soul only is devoid of all limiting adjuncts. Deliberation exhibits unity in diversity and does not proclaim the fault of difference in respect of Śiva (XVII. 29). The doctrine of grace is mentioned in XVII. 32. Maṅkha refers to Advaita or non-duality in XX. 13. In VII. 48 there is an express mention of monism (advayavāda). The Sāyujya type of Mukti is referred to in I. 28; IX. 47.

The poet refers to the technical term Avidyā in III. 37[6]. The technical term Kūṭastha is also mentioned in III. 18.

Other systems of Philosophy

Buddhist Philosophy :—Buddha was regarded as the ninth incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu (V. 22). Bodhisattva who gave his own body by way of alms is referred to directly in I.13. This shows deep knowledge of Buddhist religious practices which had developed after the annihilation of Buddha. There is a covert allusion to Bodhisattva in XIV. 8. The Buddhist doctrine of momentariness (Kṣaṇikatva) is clearly referred to in III. 55. Similarly the doctrine of nihilism (Śūnyavāda) is referred to in VI. 18. There is a reference to the theory of the Yogācāras or the Vijñānavadins that there is nothing external in this world except consciousness and that the external objects are only a creation of consciousness (XVII. 24). Buddhist monks used to put on scarlet piece of cloth and observed the vow of a Bhikṣu as enjoined in Buddhism. This fact is referred to in VI. 18. The poet refers to Amitābha, Tārā and Mañjughoṣa in III. 54 and to the behaviour pertaining to a Sugata in III. 55.

Jain Philosophy :—Maṅkha refers to Arhant and also to the theory that the dimension of the soul is the same as that of the body in XVII. 26.

Cārvāka Philosophy :—The followers of Cārvāka are referred to in XVII. 27. According to them the creation of the world full of diversity and the throbbing of creatures proceed from nature or Svabhāva. This is also found in XVII. 27. Cārvāka Philosophy is also referred to in III. 59 as Lokāyata system.

Bhairava System :—Maṅkha refers to the cult of Bhairava and the ghastly practice of devouring living beings in XVIII. 36.

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5 Cf. सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म......छांदोग्य उप० ।३।१४।१.

6 For an interesting illustration of the illusion of seeing the two moons compare Jonarāja, P. 37. (NSP. ed.)

Āyurveda

He refers to a disease of the eyes called Paṭala i.e. cataract in which there is a coating over the eyes (V. 16). He also refers to the eye-disease in which the eyes become red and swollen. It is cured by applying antimony in the eyes with a small stick (V. 21). He refers to indigestion, swelling and blindness thriving in the absence of a physician in X. 10. A method of preparing drugs was well-known (XI. 4.). In it the various ingredients were wrapped up in leaves and were covered with clay and then roasted in the fire. Maṅkha refers to a disease called Saṃnipāta i.e. a morbid state of the three humours viz. gas, bile and phlegm of the body causing fever, loss of appetite and various agonies (XVII. 63). People knew that warm water abated itching (XI. 5). People used to put wetted cloth on the body especially on the forehead of a person suffering from fever (X. 46; XI. 62). He refers to the efficacy of an elixir of life (Rasāyana) in rejuvenating (III. 8; 67).

Dhanurveda

He refers to the bow in XII. 4; to the bow-string in XII. 5; to the quiver in XII. 6 and to the Godhā (a leather armour fastened round the left arm to prevent injury from the bow-string) in XII. 3. The above given details about the complete set of arms for archery testify to the poet's knowledge of Dhanurveda. Moreover the poet refers to the missiles consecrated by different incantations (mantras) e.g. Vāruṇāstra in XXIII. 3; 56; Āgneyāstra in XXIII. 37; 39; 56; Jaiṣṇavāstra in XXIII. 39; Brahmāstra in XXIII. 39; and Vaiṣṇavāstra in XXIII. 39.

Dharmaśāstra

The poet refers to the four aims of human life viz. Dharma (religion), Artha (prosperity), Kāma (satisfaction of desires), and Mokṣa (final beatitude) in XX. 7. That the eighth day of each fortnight of a month should be observed as a holiday is mentioned in IV. 50. That a person wearing a sacred-thread (Upavīta) should not be killed under any circumstances is mentioned in XII. 28. This is in accordance with the injunctions of works on Dharmaśāstra.

Arthaśāstra

The poet refers to ṣāḍguṇya i.e. six measures of royal policy in VI. 4. The six measures are Sandhi (peace), Vigraha (war), Yāna (marching), Āsana (sitting encamped), Dvaidhī-bhāva (dividing one's forces) and Saṃśraya (seeking the protection of a more powerful king). He refers to the four Upāyas viz. Sāma, Dāna, Bheda and Daṇḍa in XIX. 20.

Kāmaśāstra

The science of love has rendered considerable charm to Sanskrit poetry. Like many sanskrit poets Maṅkha has freely drawn upon this science.

The description of the love-lorn condition of the damsels by their lady go-betweens before their beloveds which is found in stanzas 28-36 of canto VII testifies to poet's deep knowledge of Kāmaśāstra. The poet mentions the cooing in a low tone of women dexterous in sexual enjoyment at the time of sexual union which testifies to his knowledge of this branch of knowledge (XV. 34). He also refers to the biting with the teeth while the eye-brows remain unsteady at the time of wrathful love in XV. 33. In the speech full of admonition of a lady go-between by a heroine who could detect her debauchery there is a clear glimpse of the knowledge of the intricacies of sexual intercourse (XII. 87-93). The different stages of sexual enjoyment are mentioned in XXIV. 12. That the ladies after having been enjoyed are found trembling, perspiring and having horripilation is mentioned in XXI. 53. The emotion of Viparītarati is suggestively alluded to in VIII. 41. It is expressly mentioned in XV. 36; 44; 50.

There is an express mention of the technical term Puruṣāyita in XIII. 20; XV. 35; 38; 39. The poet speaks of the nail-marks in IX. 33; XII. 92; XV. 14; 30; 31; 32; XVI. 17 and of teeth-marks in XII. 90; XIV. 45; XV. 33; XIX. 5.

Saṅgītaśāstra (*Music*)

He refers to the following musical instruments viz. Guñjā (a kettle drum) (VI. 72); Paṭaha (a kettle drum) (X. 13; XXI. 48; XXII. 9; 58; XXIII. 55); Ḍiṇḍima (a kind of small drum) (XII. 13); Tūrya (Trumpet) (XV. 49; XXII. 26; 27; 36; XXIII. 5; XXIV. 3); Muraja (a kind of drum or tabor) (XVIII. 52; XXIII. 20); Bherī (kettle drum) (XX. 65; XXI. 5; 16); Dundubhi (a sort of large kettle drum) (XXII. 27); Tāla (a cymbal) (XXII. 28) and koṇa (a drum-stick) (X. 13; XX. 65; XXII. 27).

He refers to the cuckoo giving out the note of the Pañcama tune in VI. 47; 58. He also refers to the musical mode (rāga) called Pañcama in XII. 10. According to the commentator Jonarāja, the poet refers to the same 'Pañcama' by the word 'Rāgarāja' in VI. 47; 58. The definition of Pañcama rāga[7] given by Śārṅgadeva states that it is produced out of Madhyamā and Pañcamī Jāti. It is accompanied by Kākali of Ni (note) and by *Antara Svara*. (When Ga takes the first two Śrutis of Ma it is called Antara.) The note 'Pañcama' belonging to the Madhya Saptaka is the initial, prominent as well as concluding note in this Rāga. It is to be sung in accompaniment of Hṛṣyakā

7 मध्यमापञ्चमीजातः काकल्यन्तरसंयुतः ।
पञ्चमांशग्रहन्यासो मध्यसप्तकपञ्चमः ॥ २. १५१
हृष्यकामूर्च्छनोपेतो गेयः कामादिदैवतः ।
चारुसंचारिवर्णश्च ग्रीष्मेऽह्नः प्रहरेऽग्रिमे ।
शृङ्गारहास्ययोः संधाववमर्शे प्रयुज्यते ॥ २. १५२ संगीतरत्नाकरः-रागविवेकाध्यायः । पृ. २१४

Mūrcchanā. Its deity is cupid. It is delighting on account of Sañcāri varṇas (varṇas that are sung mixing the ascending (Ārohi) and descending (Avarohi) varṇas). It is sung in the early morning of summer. It accentuates the sentiments of love and humour. It is employed in the Avamaraśa Sandhi of a drama.

The definition given by Kumbha[8] is simpler and states that 'Pañcama' is so called because it expands one 'grāma' (a group of seven Svaras divided into twenty-two units and accompanied by Mūrcchanās) only and because it is derived from $\sqrt{}$Pac which means 'to expand'. On the other hand, Śrīkaṇṭha in his 'Rasakaumudī' states that 'Pañcama rāga' has got the 'Pañcama' note as the initial, the prominent as well as the concluding note and that it is without the note 'Ri' or accompanied by the three positions of the note 'Sa.'[9] It is sung in the morning. According to some it is having all the seven Svaras. It excites the erotic sentiment. Śrīkaṇṭha has given in Rasakaumudī (2. 102) the form of meditation of this musical mode. He has also mentioned (2. 174) that 'Pañcama' is sung in the autumn.

Maṅkha also refers to the musical mode 'Bhinnaṣaḍja' in XVI. 1. The definition of 'Bhinnaṣaḍja'[10] given by Śārṅgadeva states that it is produced out of 'Ṣaḍjodīcyavatī' Jāti and that the notes 'Pañcama' and 'Ṛṣabha' are excluded from it. The note 'Dhaivata' is the initial note which begins this mode (Rāga). It is also a prominent note in this Rāga. The note 'Madhyama' concludes it. It is accompanied by 'Uttarāyatā Mūrcchanā.' It is attractive due to 'Sañcāri varṇas' (i.e. those 'varṇas' which are sung mixing the 'Ārohi' and 'Avarohi' varṇas). It is decorated which 'Prasanna' or 'Mṛdu' or 'Mandra Svara' at the end. It has 'Kākalītva' of 'Ni' i.e. the first two positions on the scale to the seven 'Svaras' is occupied by 'Ni' which are normally occupied by 'Sa'

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8 विस्तारयत्येक एव ग्रामादस्मादयं स्वयम् ।
पचेर्विस्तारवचनात्पञ्चमः सम्मतः सताम् ॥ भरतकोष पृ. ३४४

9 पञ्चमांशग्रहन्यासो राजते रागपञ्चमः ।
रिरिक्तो गीयते प्रातः सत्रयेणाथवा युतः ॥
उच्यते केनचित्पूर्णः शृङ्गाररसदीपकः ॥ २. १०१ रसकौमुदी, G. O. S. No. 143, P. 25.

10 षड्जोदीच्यवतीजातो भिन्नषड्जो रिपोज्झितः ।
धांशग्रहो मध्यमान्त उत्तरायतया युतः ॥ २. ७८
संचारिवर्णरुचिरः प्रसन्नान्तविभूषितः ।
काकल्यन्तरसंयुक्तश्चतुराननदैवतः ॥ २. ७९
हेमन्ते प्रथमे यामे बीभत्से सभयानके ।
सार्वभौमोत्सवे गेयः संगीतरत्नाकरः-रागविवेकाध्यायः । पृ० १८९-१९०

along with positions 3 and 4 in its Śuddha form. The deity of this 'Rāga' is Brahmā (Caturānana). This 'Rāga' is sung in the early morning in early winter (Hemanta). It is employed to heighten the sentiment of loathsomeness accompanied by the sentiment of terror. It should be sung in the festival pertaining to an emperor. It gives rise to pleasing effects on the hearer as the reference to its employment in the Śc. shows. Jonarāja says that it is a Rāga to be sung in the morning.

Gaṇita (Arithmetic)

He mentions Gaṇanā or counting in VI. 70. He also mentions the keeping of accounts wherein the income and expenditure (Āya and Vyaya) are detailed in VI. 70. He further states that the Kāyasthas were usually found to be in charge of this task in VI. 70. Thus the Kāyasthas did the work done by clerks in modern times. He refers to a person in charge of counting i.e. an accountant in X. 19.

Aśvaśāstra (Science pertaining to Horses)

Maṅkha refers to the Āvartas or locks of hair curling backwards on a horse in XX. 22.

Gajaśāstra (Science pertaining to Elephants)

He refers to a particular kind of elephant called Bhadra in XVIII. 49. He also refers to Gandhasindhura (A kind of elephant whose odour smelt by the elephants on the opposite side causes them to flee from the battle. Thus Gandhasindhura or Gandhahasti secures victory for his own master.) in XIII. 4; XIV. 22; XV. 23; XVIII. 38.

Nāṭyaśāstra

He refers to dancing along with the technical terms Raṅgatala, Tāṇḍava and Unmālaka (I. 3). Again Raṅgapīṭha is referred to in X. 32; XVIII. 55. Prof. D. Subba Rao has explained this term in keeping with the second chapter of Nāṭyaśāstra in Appendix 6 to the second edition of the Nāṭyaśāstra, G.O.S. XXXVI, Baroda. According to him Raṅgapīṭha is the Pīṭha or base of the Raṅga just as the Raṅgaśīrṣa is the Śīrṣa i.e. top or upper surface of the Raṅga, Raṅga being the stage. Raṅgapīṭha is therefore the entire block of the stage having Raṅgaśīrṣa for its upper surface.[11] Looking at it constructionally, the Raṅgapīṭha has its floor and its head, the Raṅgaśīrṣa. To support the latter over an area of 48′ × 24′ in the Vikṛṣṭa type and 48′ × 12′ in the Caturasra type, it is essential that the Raṅgaśīrṣa must be provided with cross-braced frames.[12]........Ṣaḍdāruka gives necessary strength and by connecting the upper

11 Vide Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni, Vol. I, edited by M. R. Kavi, Second edition, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XXXVI, Baroda, 1956, Appendix 6, P. 440.

12 Ibid. P. 443.

and lower floors of the dvibhūmi by the use of dāru (timber) gives the Raṅga-śīrṣa the resonant qualities, it very essentially needs from the acoustic angle.[13]

He refers to the technical term Daṇḍapāda (the foot lifted up at the outset of dancing) in I.19; 46; V. 18; VI. 27; XXIV. 10. 'Daṇḍapāda' is a technical term applied to a particular 'Karaṇa' in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni. The combined (movement of) hands and feet in dance is called the 'Karaṇa'.[14] Each 'Karaṇa' has a specific sense to convey, just as each word has in a sentence. There are in all one hundred and eight 'Karaṇas'. In 'Daṇḍapāda Karaṇa' the foot behind the heel of another foot in 'Nūpura Cāri' should be stretched (in front rapidly so as to keep the knee directed towards the chest.) The definition of 'Daṇḍapāda Karaṇa' is found in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata.[15] Commentator Jonarāja while commenting on Śc. I. 19 states that 'Daṇḍapāda' is the foot thrown up at the commencement of dancing. Further he states that by the acceptance of the word Kalā (a digit) is to be understood the digit of the Moon in the crown of the goddess Pārvatī. At the time of evening twilight goddess Pārvatī dances. Moreover the digit of the Moon at the head of the Daṇḍapāda obtains semblance of a splitting anklet. By the mention of the splitting of the anklet, the turbulence of the dance is suggested. By the use of the adjective splitting, the massiveness of the foot, its going above the place of the orbit of the Moon and its velocity also are shown. Thus the remarks of the commentator also support the definition of Daṇḍapāda as given above. However in one illustrated book on this subject viz. 'The Classical Dance Poses of India' a quite different posture is shown as Daṇḍapāda which is wrong according to the definition of Bharatamuni. Pose number 70 which is given as an illustration of Daṇḍapāda[16] in the book mentioned above is a mistake. Actually Pose number 93 appearing under the name of Niśumbhita should be given as a true illustration of Daṇḍapāda. Vide Plate number XIV illustration No. 82 in the book 'Nāṭyaśāstra' Vol. I, G.O.S. No. XXXVI facing page 129. This was further corroborated by competent scholar Smt. Anjaliben Merrh, Reader in Dance, Faculty of Music Dance and Dramatics, M. S. University of Baroda. The statement made above that the correct posture of Daṇḍapāda is pose No. 93 in the book 'The Classical Dance Poses of India' is also in keeping with her opinion. I am grateful to her for guiding me in this matter.

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13 Ibid. P. 444.

14 Cf. हस्तपादसमायोगो नृत्यस्य करणं भवेत् ॥ ४.३० नाट्यशास्त्र

15 Cf. नूपुरं चरणं कृत्वा दण्डपादं प्रसारयेत् ॥ ४.१४२
क्षिप्राविद्धकरं चैव दण्डपादं तदुच्यते ॥ ४. १४३ab

Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni, Vol. I, edited by M. R. Kavi, second edition, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XXXVI, Baroda, 1956, P. 129.

16 Vide Gopinath and S. V. Ramana Rao, 'The Classical Dance Poses of India' (Second edition) Natana Niketan Publications, Madras-6.

Tāṇḍava is referred to in I. 49-50; XIX. 23; 50. In the foot-note no. 1, on p. 23 of Daṇḍin's 'Kāvyādarśa' edited by Nṛsiṃhadeva Śāstri, second edition, Lahore, 1934, the definition of Tāṇḍava is given as follows without mentioning the source.

'उद्धतं तु महेशस्य शासनात्तण्डुनोदितम् ।
भरताय ततः ख्यातं लोके ताण्डवसञ्ज्ञया ॥'

It means that the dance consisting of vigorous movements which was taught to Bharata by Taṇḍu at the behest of Maheśa came to be known in the world as Tāṇḍava. 'Indian dance could be roughly divided into two types, viz., Tāṇḍava and Lāsya. Of these Tāṇḍava consists of more virile and vigorous movements and is essentially masculine in character, more suitable for male dancers, suggesting as it does vitality and strength. The supreme example of this kind of dance is the Śiva Tāṇḍava which symbolises in itself the cosmic dance of destruction.'[17]

There are seven sub-divisions of Tāṇḍava dance viz. (1) Ānanda Tāṇḍava, (2) Sandhyā Tāṇḍava, (3) Kālikā Tāṇḍava, (4) Tripura Tāṇḍava, (5) Gaurī Tāṇḍava, (6) Saṃhāra Tāṇḍava & (7) Umā Tāṇḍava. It is so said that Śiva likes all these seven sub-divisions of Tāṇḍava. Maṅkha refers to the Sandhyā Tāṇḍava in V. 10 and X. 23. A very fine description of this type of Tāṇḍava dance is found in Skandapurāṇa III. 3. 6. 76-77.

'कैलासशैलभुवने त्रिजगज्जनित्रीं गौरीं निवेश्य कनकाञ्चितरत्नपीठे ।
नृत्यं विधातुमभिवाञ्छति शूलपाणौ देवाः प्रदोषसमयेऽनुभजन्ति सर्वे ॥ ७६

वाग्देवी धृतवल्लकी शतमखो वेणुं दधत्पद्मजस्तालोन्निद्रकरो रमा भगवती गेयप्रयोगान्विता ।
विष्णुः सान्द्रमृदङ्गवादनपटुर्देवाः समन्तात्स्थिताः सेवन्ते तमनु प्रदोषसमये देवं मृडानीपतिम् ॥' ७७

'After having made goddess Pārvatī, the mother of the three worlds, occupy the seat made of gold and studded with jewels in the mansion on the mountain Kailāsa, when Lord Śiva wishes to perform dance at the evening twilight all the gods attend upon Him. The goddess of speech plays upon the lute, Indra upon flute, Brahmā upon cymbals and goddess Lakṣmī engages herself in singing. Lord Viṣṇu plays upon Mṛdaṅga and the gods wait upon Śiva, the Lord of Mṛḍānī, all around at the time of evening twilight.'

Lāsya is referred to in VII. 59; XVIII. 8; 50; 51; XIX. 17. In the foot-note no. 1, on p. 23 of Daṇḍin's 'Kāvyādarśa' edited by Nṛsiṃhadeva Śāstri, second edition, Lahore, 1934, two definitions of Lāsya are given as follows bereft of the mention of the sources.

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17 Vide Preface to 'The Classical Dance Poses of India,' second edition, by Gopinath and S. V. Ramana Rao, Natana Niketan Publications, Madras-6, 1955, p. ii.

'लासः स्त्रीपुंसयोर्भावस्तदर्हं तत्र साधु वा ।
लास्यं मनसिजोल्लासकरं मृदङ्गह्वाववत् ।
देव्यै देवोपदिष्टत्वात्प्रायः स्त्रीभिः प्रयुज्यते ॥'

किञ्च–

'कोमलं मधुरं लास्यं श‍ृङ्गाररससंयुतम् ।
गौरीतोषकरं चापि स्त्रीनृत्यं तु तदुच्यते ॥'

It means that Lāsa is the emotion of the man and the woman. The word Lāsya is derived by adding termination 'ya' in the sense of 'fit for' or good for. Lāsya delights cupid like the call of the drum. As Lāsya was taught to the goddess (Pārvatī) by the god (Śiva) so it is generally performed by the ladies. Moreover Lāsya is delicate and pleasant and is accompanied by the sentiment of eros. It gratifies Gaurī i.e. goddess Pārvatī. It is a dance meant for the ladies. In Lāsya, the movements are softer and more measured, suggesting grace and beauty and it is more suitable for female dancers.[18]

In V. 48 the poet refers to 'Aṅgahārā', a technical term utilized in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni. 'Aṅgahāras' are dance pieces that emerge out of the performance of six, seven, eight or nine 'Karaṇas' in a definite succession. Aṅgahāras are made of artistic groups of Karaṇas performed to variegated tālas or time measures. These groups or sets of Karaṇas are already specified by Bharatamuni. Just as a particular selection of words forms a sentence or a poem in the same way the selection of a particular set of Karaṇas forms an Aṅgahāra[19] to convey a finished sentiment or Rasa. There are thirty-two Aṅgahāras. Aṅgahāras are finished pieces of pure dance that originally formed part of Lord Śīva and Śrī Pārvatī's dances. When the Pūrvaraṅga is combined with Aṅgahāras it is called Citra[20] Pūrvaraṅga (as against the Śuddha Pūrvaraṅga) according to

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18 Ibid. P. ii.

19 Abhinavabhāratī, a commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra by Abhinavagupta explains it as –अङ्गानां देशान्तरे समुचिते प्रापणप्रकारोऽङ्गहारः । हरस्य चायं हारः प्रयोगः, अङ्गनिर्वर्त्यो हारोऽङ्गहारः । Vide Bibliotheca Indica Work No. 272, 'The Nāṭyaśāstra', Vol. I, translated by Manomohan Ghosh, The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1950, P. 46.

20 Cf. मयापीदं स्मृतं नृत्यं सन्ध्याकालेषु नृत्यता ।
नानाकरणसंयुक्तैरङ्गहारैर्विभूषितम् ॥ १३
पूर्वरङ्गविधावस्मिंस्त्वया सम्यक्प्रयोज्यताम् ।
वर्धमानकयोगेषु गीतेष्वासारितेषु च ॥ १४
महागीतेषु चैवार्थान्सम्यगेवाभिनेष्यसि ।
यश्चायं पूर्वरङ्गस्तु त्वया शुद्धः प्रयोजितः ॥ १५
एभिर्विमिश्रितश्चायं चित्रो नाम भविष्यति ।
श्रुत्वा महेश्वरवचः प्रत्युक्तस्तु स्वयम्भुवा ॥ १६

the instructions of Lord Śiva to Brahmā. Some authorities are of opinion that Aṅgahāras are to be danced in the morning programmes. The total effect of each Aṅgahāra or finished piece has still an emotional appeal of its own. In the 'Bharatārṇava' of Nandikeśvara Aṅgahāras are classified into nine varieties each corresponding to a rasa or aesthetic appeal. It is a rare and valuable addition to the description of the Aṅgahāras in the Nāṭyaśāstra and later texts where they are merely classified into two groups according to the internal gait of the tālas pertaining to them whether they are of 4 steps or 3 steps.[21] Each group in that classification consists of 16 Aṅgahāras. Those 32 Aṅgahāras are not however so simple as the 9 groups mentioned here, but are more complex, each Aṅgahāra consisting of a number of 'Karaṇas' or dance units of which 108 are described in text-books. Finding out the particular aesthetic appeal of each of the 32 Aṅgahāras has yet to be attempted and in such an attempt the 9 classes given here may serve as a guiding factor.[22] The Aṅgahāras Lalita, Vikrama, Kāruṇika, Vicitra, Vikala, Bhīma, Vikṛta, Ugratara and Śāntaja correspond to Śṛṅgāra, Vīra, Karuṇa, Adbhuta, Hāsya, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa, Raudra and Śānta rasas respectively and have 5, 3, 4, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, and 2 forms respectively.

He refers to the beating of time (Tāla) while dancing is going on in XVIII. 50.

Kośas (Lexicons)

Maṅkha's rich vocabulary speaks volumes in favour of his thorough knowledge of the lexicons. As many as nine different names given for water in canto IX stanzas 1, 7, 14, 22, 28, 35, 38, 40, 41 and the use of words having senses more than one (XII. 58) as well as the use of rare words such as Śalāṭu (unripe fruit) in II. 48 and Kurala (a kind of lock of hair) in XIII. 25 testify to his knowledge of the lexicons. Moreover the use of many stanzas having double meaning which are scattered over the whole poem also demonstrate his mastery over the lexicons e.g. III. 52-53 etc.[23]

Rhetorics

The poet uses the technical term Ārabhaṭī Vṛtti in V. 48. There are four Vṛttis in all called Kauśikī, Sātvatī, Ārabhaṭī and Bhāratī out of which the first

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प्रयोगमङ्गहाराणामाचक्ष्व सुरसत्तम ।
ततस्तण्डुं समाहूय प्रोक्तवान् भुवनेश्वरः ॥ १७
प्रयोगमङ्गहाराणामाचक्ष्व भरताय वै ।

'Nāṭyaśāstra'–Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XXXVI, Chapter 4, PP. 87-88.

21 Vide 'Bharatārṇava' of Nandikeśvara with translation in English and Tamil sponsored by Sangeet Nataka Akadami, Delhi, 1957, P. 290 foot-note 1.

22 Ibid. P. 290 foot-note 1.

23 For a list of difficult and rare words, vide Appendix 4.

three Vṛttis are employed to heighten the sentiments of love, heroism, wrath and disgust respectively as mentioned by Viśvanātha in pariccheda VI of his Sāhityadarpaṇa. To heighten the rest of the sentiments Bhāratī Vṛtti is employed. These Vṛttis are the origin of all sorts of dramas and might possess peculiar activities of the hero etc. in the dramas.[24] Ārabhaṭī Vṛtti is defined by Viśvanātha in his Sāhityadarpaṇa Pariccheda VI as follows :

māyendrajālasaṅgrāmakrodhodbhrāntādiceṣṭitaiḥ // VI. 429 cd
Saṃyuktā vadhabandhādyairuddhatārabhaṭī matā / VI. 430 ab

which means that Ārabhaṭī is full of great excitement as it is suitable to deceit, magic, battle, anger, fright, slaughter and imprisonment etc.[25]

He also refers to Vaidarbhī Rīti in II. 41. Here it is necessary to understand what is Rīti. According to Vāmana, Rīti is peculiar arrangement of words.[26] This peculiar arrangement of words is of three types called Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Pāñcālī.[27] The definition of Vaidarbhī Rīti as given by Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādarśa runs as follows:—

Śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā mādhuryaṃ sukumāratā /
arthavyaktirudāratvamojaḥ kāntiḥ samādhayaḥ // *I. 41*
iti vaidarbhamārgasya prāṇā daśa guṇāḥ smṛtāḥ /
eṣāṃ viparyayaḥ prāyo dṛśyate gauḍavartmani // *I. 42*

It means that pun, perspicuity, balance, sweetness, delicacy, sense-manifestation, eloquence, vigour, brilliance and agreement are the ten vital qualities of the Vaidarbhī Rīti.[28] The opposite of these qualities is generally seen in the Gauḍī Rīti. In his 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' on p. 362, MM. Dr. P. V. Kane remarks that Arthavyakti, udāratā and Samādhi are required by the partisans of both Rītis. Further he states on p. 363 that Gauḍi Rīti regards Ojas as the highest (quality) even in poetry (padya).

Similarly the technical term Abhisārikās is mentioned in X. 26; 28; 38; XI. 66 and XVI. 3. Abhisārikā is one of the eight classes of the Nāyikās.

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24 Cf. शृङ्गारे कौशिकी वीरे सात्त्वत्यारभटी पुनः ।
रसे रौद्रे च बीभत्से वृत्तिः सर्वत्र भारती ॥ ६.४१९
चतस्रो वृत्तयो ह्येताः सर्वनाट्यस्य मातृकाः ।
स्युर्नायकादिव्यापारविशेषा नाटकादिषु ॥ ६.४२०
Sāhityadarpaṇa, edited by Śivadatta, printed at Śri Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press, Bombay, 1917, p. 487.

25 Vide op. cit., p. 491, vv. 429^{cd}–430^{ab}.

26 Cf. 'विशिष्टा पदरचना रीतिः ।' काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र २।७

27 Cf. 'सा च त्रेधा वैदर्भी गौडीया पाञ्चाली च ।' काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र २।९

28 Vide 'Kāvyādarśa', edited by Nṛsiṃhadeva Śāstrī, second edition, Lahore, 1934, p. 24.

Svādhīnabhartṛkā, Vāsakasajjā, Kalahāntaritā, Virahotkaṇṭhitā, Vipralabdhā, Khaṇḍitā and proṣitabhartṛkā are the other seven classes of Nāyikās. The definition of Abhisārikā[29] as supplied by Viśvanātha in his Sāhityadarpaṇa runs as follows :—

'*Abhisārayate kāntaṃ yā manmàthavaśaṃvadā* /
svayaṃ vābhisaratyeṣā dhīrairuktābhisārikā //' *III. 101*

She who makes her lover approach her or who under the influence of cupid stealthily goes to keep an appointment with her lover is called an abhisārikā by the clever people.

Kilakiñcita is mentioned in XIV. 44. The definition of Kilakiñcita by Bharata as recorded in Bharatakośa runs as follows :—

'*Smitahasitaruditabahuduḥkhagarvābhilāṣāṇām* /
saṅkaṭakaraṇaṃ harṣādasakṛtkilakiñcitaṃ jñeyam //'

That should be known as kilakiñcita in which smile, laughter, weeping, heavy grief, pride and desire besiege one often on account of joy.[30]

The technical terms from dramaturgy such as Sandhi , Nāṭaka, Javanikā are mentioned in V. 48. Out of them Sandhi is defined by Viśvanātha in his Sāhityadarpaṇa Pariccheda VI as :—

'*Antaraikārthasambandhaḥ Sandhirekānvaye sati* /' *371 ab*.

which means that Sandhi is the relation with one purpose which extraneous matter bears with the parts of a story which are construed with one purpose.[31] There are five types of Sandhis called Mukha, Pratimukha, Garbhaḥ, Vimarśaḥ and Upasaṃhṛti.

The constituents of a Nāṭaka are described in Sāhityadarpaṇa Pariccheda VI as follows :—

Nāṭakaṃ khyātavṛttaṃ syātpañcasandhisamanvitam /
vilāsarddhyādiguṇavad yuktaṃ nānāvibhūtibhiḥ // 304

sukhaduḥkhasamudbhūti nānārasanirantaram /
pañcādikā daśaparāstatrāṅkāḥ parikīrtitāḥ // 305

prakhyātavaṃśo rājarṣirdhīrodāttaḥ pratāpavān /
divyo'tha divyādivyo vā guṇavānnāyako mataḥ // 306

eka eva bhavedaṅgī śṛṅgāro vīra eva vā /
aṅgamanye rasāḥ sarve kāryo nirvahaṇe'dbhutaḥ // 307

catvāraḥ pañca vā mukhyāḥ kāryavyāpṛtapūruṣāḥ /
gopucchāgrasamāgraṃ tu bandhanaṃ tasya kīrtitam // 308

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29 Vide 'Sāhityadarpaṇa', Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press, Bomby, 1917, p. 157.

30 Vide 'Bharatakośa' Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Oriental Series No. 30, Tirupati, 1951, p. 136.

31 Vide 'Sāhityadarpaṇa' Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press, Bombay, 1917, p. 456.

Nāṭaka must have for its plot a well-known story and must be accompanied by five Sandhis. It should possess qualities like coquetry and prosperity and should be possessed of various exalted ranks. It must be full of various sentiments and should give rise to happiness and misery. The number of acts in it should vary from five to ten. The hero must be a virtuous royal sage, brave, noble and valorous belonging to a famous lineage. He must be either a superhuman being or a semidivine being. There should be only one main sentiment either the sentiment of love or heroism and all the other sentiments should be subservient to it. At the end wonder should be roused. There must be either four or five leading men engaged in performance. The composition of its foremost point is like the tip of the tail of a cow.[32] Nāṭaka and Javanikā are mentioned again in IX. 14; XV. 12. Naṭī is also mentioned in IX. 14. The term Bhūmikā is mentioned in XV. 12. Other technical terms viz. Sūtradhāra, Raṅgapīṭha and Śailūṣa are mentioned in XVII. 67 while Rasa, Prakaraṇa, Javanikā and Śailūṣa are referred to in XXIV. 15. He refers to the ceremony connected with entrance upon a stage (Prāveśiko Vidhiḥ) in XIX. 13. The reference to Pūrvaraṅga in XIX. 53; XXI. 52; XXII. 14; XXIV. 8 shows Maṅkha's knowledge of dramatics. Pūrvaraṅga is described in Sāhityadarpaṇa Pariccheda VI in the following words :

yaṃ nāṭyavastunaḥ pūrvaṃ raṅgavighnopaśāntaye |
kuśīlavāḥ prakurvanti pūrvaraṅgaḥ sa ucyate || 319

That ceremony is called pūrvaraṅga which is performed by the actors to avert the impending obstacles on stage before the actual performance of a dramatic piece.[33]

Epics

Mahābhārata :—The reference to the showering of gold on Marutta[34] by Śiva is made in I. 12. The story of the rescue of Śveta[35] from the fetters of the god of death by Śiva is referred to in IV. 9. The story of Śiva's becoming an officiating priest of the royal sage Śveta[36] (Śvetaki as given in the Mbh.) is referred to in V. 9. The story of the encounter of Arjuna with Śiva in the form of a Kirāta[37] (Dāśa) is referred to in V. 32. He refers to Droṇa as the best of the wielders of bows in XXV. 56.

Rāmāyaṇa :—He refers to Vālmīki as the first poet (Ādyaḥ Kaviḥ) in XXV. 60. The poet also refers to Candrahāsa the sword of Rāvaṇa and the

32 Vide op. cit., p. 416-417.
33 Vide op. cit., p. 421.
34 Vide Mahābhārata, Gītā Press ed., Aśvamedhaparva Adhyāyas 4-8.
35 LgP. I. 30.
36 Mbh. I. 222. 36-67.
37 Mbh. III. 39.

separation of Rāma and Sītā in XI. 10. Therein he also mentions Rāma's building a bridge over the ocean. Moreover there is a covert allusion to Rāma's killing Tāḍakā in XII. 15.

Purāṇas

The use of the word Hantakāra in II. 26 shows deep knowledge of the Purāṇas on the part of the poet since it is explained only in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.[38] Similarly the use of the word Vṛṣa in the sense of Dharma in III. 33 shows poet's knowledge of the Purāṇas since it is used in the above sense generally in the Purāṇas. It is also used in the same sense in Manusmṛti VIII. 16.

Miscellaneous

Botany :—He refers to the growth of Kanakaketakī in the spring season (VI. 67). He mentions the withering of Kunda in the spring season (VI. 71). He also refers to the vegetables emitting lustre (XXIV. 24).

Zoology :—The poet refers to the natural enmity between a horse and a buffalow in XVI. 54; XX. 20; XXII. 30. He also refers to the natural enmity prevailing between an elephant and a lion in XXIII. 14.

Navigation :—His knowledge of navigation can be inferred from the term Aritra (Rudder) mentioned in XXV. 125.

Science of Birds :—Maṅkha refers to the sweet voice of a male cuckoo in VI. 14; 24; 32; VIII. 8; 30. He refers to the red colour of the beak of a parrot in VI. 19. The poet refers to the rearing up of the cuckoos during their early infancy by others (i.e. other birds especially by the crow) in VI. 10; 11. He refers to the cuckoo giving out the note of the Pañcama tune in VI. 47; 58.

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38 Cf. ग्रासप्रमाणं भिक्षा स्यादग्रं ग्रासचतुष्टयम् ॥ ३५
अग्राच्चतुर्गुणं तत्तु हन्तकारं विदुर्बुधाः । Mār. p., Bibliotheca Indica ed., 29.Sts.35-36.

CHAPTER VIII

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

In the introduction to Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī [1] Dr. M.A. Stein writes as follows :—

" Bühler recognized clearly the importance of a minute study of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr ..... and pointed out the most valuable help which could be obtained for such researches from the Nīlamatapurāṇa, the legendaries (Māhātmyas) of Kaśmīr Tīrthas, and other Kaśmīrian texts he had discovered".

In the light of the evidence supplied by the works mentioned above including Rājataraṅgiṇī itself, we shall try to identify and locate the various places of Kaśmīr mentioned by our poet. The investigation of this kind reveals to us Maṅkha's thorough knowledge of the geography of Kāśmīr. Moreover his knowledge of the geography of India can be easily inferred from the references to various places situated therein.

Thus the country Murala situated in Malbar in the Southern India is referred to while eulogizing the beauty of the faces and the breasts of the women of that country in VI. 39 ; VII. 39.

Similarly the wind from the country Kerala i.e. Malbar situated far away from Kaśmīra in Southern India is referred to in VIII.17. While the women of Kerala are referred to in VI. 60.

The poet also refers to the winds of the Karṇāṭa [2] (ka) country in VI. 62.

There is a reference to the country known as Matsya i.e. north Rājaputānā in Western India in XVI.34. Moreover the poet's acquaintance with a desert can be easily inferred from his frequent references to the rain of sparks of fire e.g. in VI. 65; VII. 40 etc. But an unmistakable reference to a desert is to be found in XXV. 124 wherein it is referred to by the word 'Maru'. It is not impossible that the word 'Maru' might have been used to denote the country called Mārwār since it is the only big desert in India though there is nothing to preclude its use in the general sense of a desert.

The country called Aṅga i.e. north Bengal in Eastern India is also referred to in XVI.34.

He refers to the Māgadhas in XVII. 9 which testify to his knowledge of the Magadha country i. e. Bihar and its people.

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1 Vide Vol. I. P. xii.

2 It is noteworthy that the poet mentions the coconut fruits growing on the coconut trees in Karṇāṭaka in VI. 62. Probably the country must be one situated in Madras state since the wind from Malaya mountain is spoken of as blowing in it.

The poet refers to the elephants found in the forests of Vindhya in XXII. 34.

At the foot of the mountain Kailāsa, a city Alakā is spoken of (IV. 55; 60).

In VII. 40 and in XII. 7 the poet refers to the wind from the Siṃhala country which shows his knowledge of that country.

The poet refers to Laṅkā in VI. 73. This should be borne in mind that Laṅkā and Siṃhala (Ceylon) are two different islands according to our author since he refers to Siṃhala many a time but to Laṅkā here alone. Not only that but he clearly mentions the Trikūṭa mountain near Laṅkā[3] which Trikūṭa mountain is not to be found in Siṃhala country. This is a conclusive proof to assert that the poet also knew Laṅkā and Siṃhala to be two different islands.

The region which is an ornament of the forehead of the direction that was familiar to Kubera i.e. north is denoted by the word Kaśmīra[4] (III. 1).

The region of Kaśmīra bears the name Satīsaras[5] which is as it were a bathing place of the creator after creating the world full of diversity in the manner of accomplishing a sacrifice (III. 1).

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3 See Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., VI. (Yuddhakāṇḍa) 40.2-3.

4 Many fanciful etymologies are given for the derivation of the word Kaśmīr in the Nīlamata Purāṇa which are based on the legend relating to Satīsaras. They are as follows:—

The region is called Kaśmīra after the name of the Prajāpati Kaśyapa due to whose efforts the lake Satīsaras was drained by the gods and the land of Kaśmīra came into existence.

The Sanskrit word for water is Kam. And since the Kam *i.e.* water was removed from that place by a snake (Ananta or Śeṣa) it came to be called Kaśmīra.

Umā herself assumed the form of Kaśmīrā (*i.e.* the region itself) after whose name it is called Kaśmīra.

Cf.: *Kaḥ prajāpatir uddiṣṭaḥ Kaśyapaś ca prajāpatiḥ /*
tenedaṃ nirmitaṃ deśaṃ Kaśmīrākhyaṃ bhaviṣyati //
kaṃ vāri Hariṇā yasmād deśād asmād apākṛtam /
Kaśmīrākhyaṃ tato'py asya loke nāma bhaviṣyati //
Yaivomā saiva Kaśmīrā yasmāt tasmād bhujaṅgama /
Viśokety abhivikhyātā bṛṃhitā ca tathā mayā /
Strīrūpadhāriṇī bhūtvā Vṛddhatīrthe nivatsyati //
Stanzas 218-220 Nīlamata.

5 The Nīlamata gives a lengthy account of the legends relating to the Satīsaras, the demon Jalodbhava who had made it his place of residence, the desiccation of the lake by the gods at the prayer of Kaśyapa and the demon's destruction (Nīlamata 76-174). A careful abstract of these stories, accounting for the creation of Kaśmīra has been given by Dr. Bühler. Vide Report pp. 38 sqq. Also

Cf.: *yaiva devī Umā saiva Kaśmīrā nṛpapuṅgava /*
āsīt saraḥ pūrṇajalaṃ suramyaṃ sumanoharam //
kalpārambhaprabhṛti yat purā manvantarāṇi ṣaṭ /
asmin manvantare jātaṃ viṣayaṃ sumanoharam //
Nīlamata Sts. 12, 13.

Kaśmīra's being surrounded by snow-clad mountains is stated in III. 3, wherein it is poetically stated that the ocean of milk as it were circumambulates it as a consequence of being defeated by Kaśmīra in respect of the wealth of precious jewels.

Lake Mahāpadma[6] is situated in Kaśmīra (III. 9).

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6 The information about Mahāpadma lake found in the translation of Rājataraṅgiṇī Vols. I and II by Dr. Stein can be subdivided into three heads viz. (i) its name, (ii) location and (iii) the legend connected with it.

(i) The ancient name of the lake is Mahāpadmasaras derived from the Nāga Mahāpadma, who is located in the lake as its tutelary deity. This designation is by far the most common in the chronicles, the Nīlamata and the other old texts...The name Ullola from which the present Volur (Vulgo ' Woodar ') now called wooler lake seems to be derived, is found only in one passage of Jonarāja's chronicles (Jonarāja [Bo. ed.], 1227-30) and in a single modern Māhātmya (Dhyāneśvaramāh°. 30.33). Sanskrit Ullola can be interpreted as ' turbulent ' or (the lake) with high going waves, and those who have experienced the sensation of crossing the lake with a strong wind, will readily allow the appropriateness of this designation. Yet it is impossible to dismiss altogether the suspicion that the name which seems wholly unknown to the older texts may be only a clever adaptation of the Kaśmīri volur or its earlier representative...Jonarāja in his commentary on the above mentioned stanza uses Ullola as a paraphrase for Mahāpadma.

(ii) The great lake is a very important feature in the hydrographic system of Kaśmīr. It acts as a huge flood reservoir for greatest part of drainage of Kasmir and gives to the Western portion of the valley its peculiar character. Its dimensions vary at different periods owing to the low shores to the south being liable to inundation. In normal years the length of the lake may be reckoned at about twelve and width at six miles, with an area of about seventy-eight square miles. In years of flood the lake extends to about thirteen miles in length and eight miles in width. Its depth is nowhere more than about fifteen feet and is continually lessening in those parts where streams debouch into it.........The boundaries of the lake are ill-defined in the south and partly in the east, the marshes and peaty meadows merge almost imperceptibly into its area. On the north the shores slope up towards an amphitheatre of mountains from which some rocky spurs run down to the water's edge. Vide *op. cit.* Vol. II, P. 423.

(iii) The Nīlamata relates at length how the lake became the habitation of the Mahāpadma Nāga (Cf. Nilamata sts. 976-1008 ed. by Ramalal Kanjilal and Bühler Report P. 10). Originally it was occupied by the wicked Nāga Ṣaḍaṅgula who used to carry off the women of the country. Nīla the lord of Kaśmīr Nāgas, banished Ṣaḍaṅgula to the land of Dārvas. The site left dry on his departure was occupied by a town called Candrapur under king Viśvagaśva. The Muni Durvāsas not receiving hospitable reception in this town cursed it and foretold its destruction by water.

When subsequently the Nāga Mahāpadma sought a refuge in Kaśmīr and asked Nīla for the allotment of a suitable habitation, he was granted permission to occupy Candrapura. The Mahāpadma Nāga thereupon approached king Viśvagaśva in the disguise of an old Brahman and asked to be allowed to settle in the town with his family. When his prayer was agreed to, he showed himself in his true form and announced to the king approaching submersion of his city. At the Nāga's direction the king with his people emigrated and founded two yojanas further west the new town Viśvagaśvapura. The Nāga then converted the city into a lake, henceforth his and his family's dwelling place. A recollection of this legend still lives in popular tradition, and the ruins of the doomed city are supposed to be sighted occasionally in the water.

River Vitastā[7] is referred to in III. 7.

With reference to the purāṇic legend the Mahāpadma is sometimes identified with the Nāga Kālīya who was vanquished by Kṛṣṇa. As the foot of the god when touching the Nāga's head had made lotuses (padma) appear on it, Mahāpadma is treated by Kaśmīrian poets as another form of Kālīya. Compare Jonarāja 933 and note on Rājataraṅgiṇī V. 114, Vide op. cit., Vol. II, P. 424.

Two Padma Nāgas are referred to in Nīlamata (St. 904 ed. Lahore) in the twenty-sixth place besides two Mahāpadma Nāgas...The Padma Nāga has been assumed by Prof. Bühler to be identical with the Mahāpadma Nāga. Vide op. cit., Vol. I, P. 6.

7 Dr. Stein in his translation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī Vol. II, writes as follows:—

The great river which is recipient of the whole drainage of the country, is now known to Kaśmīrīs by the name of Vyath. This modern designation is the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient Sanskrit Vitastā which we meet already among the river names of the Rigveda. (The line of phonetic development may be roughly represented as Skr. Vitastā > Pr. + Vidastā > Ap + Vi (h)ath > K's Vyath. For Vitastā comp. RV. X. 75.5). The name Jehlam which is borne by the Vitastā in its course through the Punjāb is wholly unknown to the genuine usage of Kaśmīr. It is apparently of Muhammadan origin and has been brought to Kaśmīr only by Europeans and other foreigners.

The river to which the name of Vitastā or Vyath is properly applied, is first formed by the meeting of several streams which drain the south-eastern portion of the valley. This meeting takes place in the plain close to the present town of Anantnāga or Islāmābād.

An ancient legend related at length in the Nīlamata (crit. edited by Dr. K. De Vreese Sts. 242-290) represents the Vitastā as a manifestation of Śiva's consort Pārvatī. After Kaśmīr had been created Śiva at the requests of Kaśyapa, prevailed upon the goddess to show herself in the land in the shape of river, in order to purify its inhabitants from the sinful contact with the Piśācās. The goddess thereupon assumed the form of a river in the underworld and asked her consort to make an opening by which she might come to the surface. This he did by striking the ground near the habitation of the Nīlanāga with the point of his trident (Śūla). Through the fissure thus made, which measured one vitasti or span, the river gushed forth receiving on account of the origin the name Vitastā.

The spring basin where the goddess first appeared was known by several designations of Nīlakuṇḍa, Śūlaghāta ('spear-thrust') or simply Vitastā. It is clear that the spring meant is the famous Nīlanāga, near the village of Vērnāg, in the shābad paragaṇa. It is a magnificent fountain which amply deserves the honour of being thus counted the traditional source of the great river.

The legend makes Pārvati-Vitastā subsequently disappear again from fear of defilement by the touch of sinful men. When brought to light a second time by Kaśyapa's prayer the goddess issued from the Nāga of Pañchasta. In this locality we easily recognise the present village of Pānzath situated in the Divasar paragaṇa and boasting of a fine spring which is still visited by the pious of the neighbourhood. After another disappearance the goddess came forth a third time at Narasiṁhāśrama. This place I am unable to trace with certainty. Finally the goddess was induced to abide permanently in the land when Kaśyapa had secured for her the company of other goddesses who also embodied themselves in Kaśmir streams like Lakṣmī in the Viśokā, Gaṅgā at Sindhu etc. Vide op. cit., Vol. II, P. 411-412.

The conjunction of the river Sindhu (Samudra) and Vitastā[8] (Kāntā) is definitely the roaming place for pleasure of one whose mark is the moon (i.e. Śiva) which exhibits by hundreds of whirlpools the prints of the front part of the hoofs of his bull (III. 20). The above conjunction is also referred to in III. 24.

The appearance of the confluence of Sindhu and Vitastā (which are) the receptacles of the affection of the ocean, unites as it were the forest of the creepers of religious merit with new water basins in the form of compact whirlpools (III. 24).

By whose purer qualities all the quarters are exceedingly decorated just like the rays (and) which is well known as Pravara[9], the city attains the position of a crest jewel of that (region) (III. 21).

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8 About the conjunction of the river Sindhu and Vitastā, Dr. Stein writes as follows in his translation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī Vol. II, P. 329 under note I. He writes:—

" The Vitastā and its largest tributary, the Sindhu (see note I. 57), meet at present opposite to the large village of Shāḍipūr, 74° 34′ long. 34° 11′ lat. and about nine miles in a direct line to the North West of Śrīnagara. That this has been the point of junction since at least the fourteenth century, is proved beyond all doubt by the name of the place itself. The modern name Shāḍipūr is as a notice of Abū-l-Fazl shows, only a contraction of the original form of the name Shahābuddīnpūr. From Jonarāja's chronicle 409, we learn that Shahābuddīnpūr took its name from Sultan Shahābuddīn (A.D. 1354-1373), who founded a ' town ' called after his own name at the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu. Considering that only two centuries lie between Kalhaṇa's time and the date of Shahābuddīn and that the chronicle of Jonarāja makes no reference to any change in the river course during the intervening period, we can safely conclude that the confluence of the two rivers was also in Kalhaṇa's time at the same point where we see at present.

General references to the locality are found in Rājataraṅgiṇī vii. 909, 1595, viii. 506, Śrīvara i. 441."

9 " Śrīnagarī, the old capital of Kashmir prior to the erection of Pravarasenapura, is stated to have been founded by the great Aśoka (Rājataraṅgiṇī, i. 104) who reigned from B.C. 263 to 226. It stood on the site of the present Pândrethân, and is said to have extended along the bank of the river from the foot of the Takht-i-Sulimân to Pântasok a distance of more than three miles. The oldest temple in Kashmir, on the top of the Takht-i-Sulimân, is identified by the unanimous consent of all the Brahmans of the valley with the temple of Jyeshtha-Rudra, which was built by Jaloka, the son of Aśoka, in Śrīnagarī (Rājataraṅgiṇī, i. 124)....Śrīnagarī was still the capital of the valley in the reign of Pravarasena I, towards the end of the fifth century, when the king erected a famous symbol of the god Śiva, named after himself Pravareśwar. The city still existed in A.D. 631 when the Chinese pilgrim arrived in Kashmir, although it was no longer the capital of the valley. He speaks of the capital of his time as the ' new city ' and states that the ' old city ' was situated to the south east of it, at a distance of ten li, or nearly two miles and to the south of a high mountain. This account describes the relative positions of Pândrethân and the present capital with the lofty hill of Takht-i-Sulimân so exactly, that there can be no hesitation in accepting them as the representatives of the ancient places............

Pravarasenapura or the new capital, was built by Rājā Pravarasena II in the beginning of the sixth century. Its site, as already noted, was that of the present capital of Śrīnagar. This

The Places of Pilgrimage

Cakradhara

The place of pilgrimage called Cakradhara is referred to in III.12.

One (alluvial plateau or Karēwa) on the left bank (of Vitastā), the Tsakādar Udar is one of the most ancient sites of the valley (Cakradhara)[10]

Kapaṭeśvara

Similarly the place of pilgrimage called Kapaṭeśvara is mentioned in III.14.

Regarding it Dr. Stein writes—"The place of pilgrimage is the sacred spring of Pāpasūdana ('sin-removing'), situated a short distance above Kōṭher.[11] In it Śiva is believed to have shown himself in the disguise (Kapaṭa) of pieces of wood floating on the water. The legend is related at length in the Nīlamata...... ....Before him (Kalhaṇa) already Albērūnī had heard of the story that pieces of wood sent by Mahādeva appear annually 'in a pond called Kūdaishahr to the left of the source of the Vitastā in the middle of the month Vaiśākha......... The sacred spring rises in a large circular tank which is enclosed by an ancient stone-wall and steps leading in to the water.......Abu-l-fazl, too knows in the village of Koṭihār, a deep spring surrounded by stone temples, when its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandalwood appears".

Mārtaṇḍa

According to Dr. Stein there is a doubtful allusion[12] to the Tīrtha of Mārtaṇḍa in Śc. III. 15.

Regarding the location of the Tīrtha Dr. Stein states as follows :—

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is determined beyond all possibility of doubt by the very clear and distinct data furnished by the Chinese pilgrim Huen Thsang, and by the Hindu historian Kalhaṇa paṇḍit............

The Hindu author describes the city as situated at the confluence of two rivers and with a hill in the midst of it. This is an exact description of the present Śrīnagar, in the midst of which stands the hill of Hari-Prabat, and through which flows the river Hara, or Ara to join the Behat at the northern end of the city (Moorcroft's Travels, ii. 276. I speak also from personal knowledge, as I have twice visited Kashmir).

The question now arises, how did the new city of Pravarasenapura lose its own name and assume that of the old city of Śrīnagarī? I think that this difficulty may perhaps be explained by the simple fact that the two cities were actually contiguous and as they existed together side by side for upwards of five centuries, the old name as in the case of Delhi, would naturally have remained in common use with the people, in preference to the new name as the customary designation of the capital." Alexander Cunningham: Ancient Geography of India, Part I, Pp. 110-112. Also Dr. Stein: Introduction to the Translation of Rājataraṅgiṇī, Vol. I, P. 84.

10 Cf. Translation of Rājataraṅgiṇī by Dr. Stein, Vol. II, P. 414.

11 Vide op. cit. p. 467.

12 Vide op. cit. Vol. I, p. 141.

"About one mile south of Bumāzu we reach the Tīrtha sacred to Mārtaṇḍa which has from early times to the present day enjoyed a prominent position among the sacred sites of Kāśmīr. It is marked by a magnificent spring (traditionally represented as two, Vimala and Kamala) which an ancient legend connects with the birth of the sun-god Mārtaṇḍa.[13].

The popular name of the Tīrtha, Bavan, is derived from Sanskrit bhavana '(sacred) habitation'..... A more specific designation is *Matsā* bavan[14], Sanskrit Matsyabhavana; this is due to the abundance of sacred fish which swam in large basins filled by a spring".

Vijayeśvara

There is a covert allusion to the Tīrtha of Vijayeśvara in III. 11 according to the commentator Jonarāja.

Regarding its location Dr. Stein writes :—

"The present Vijābrōr situated less than two miles above Cakradhara, received its name from the ancient shrine of Śiva Vijayeśvara.[15] This deity is worshipped to the present day at Vijābrōr............. This old shrine (temple of Śiva Vijayeśvara) has now completely disappeared. ...It stood at a site close to the river bank and nearly opposite to the bridge over the Vitastā".

The reference to a bridge testifies to the existence of many bridges on the rivers in the time of the poet (II.43).

Lakes :—Among the lakes, Maṅkha mentions Mānasa (IV.23; 26; 52; V. 19; IX. 8; 47; XI. 38; XVI. 30; XXV.15) and Mahāpadma (III. 9). That Mānasa is an abode of the swans is stated in IX. 37 and XI. 38.

Rivers :—Among the rivers, he mentions Vitastā (III. 7); Yamunā (IX. 1; XI. 48); Gaṅgā (XI. 48 ; XII. 95) and Tāmraparṇī[16] (VI. 73). However in XI. 48 the Ganges is referred to as the river of the gods (Nirjarataraṅgavatī).

The poet also refers to the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā i.e. Prayāga in XI.48 ; XII. 95.

Mountains :—He mentions the following mountains :—Himādri (XVI. 49); Kailāsa (IV. 1; VI. 68); Malaya (VI. 2; 42; 66; 67; 73; VII. 5; 19; 21; 22) also

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13 Vide op. cit. Vol. II, P. 465.

14 Vide op. cit. p. 466.

15 Vide op. cit. p. 463.

16 It is a river of the south India, rising in the Malaya mountain and is celebrated for its pearls. cf. A Critical Study of Naiṣadhīyacarita by Dr. A. N. Jani, P. 186, footnote.

called Śrīkhaṇḍādri (IV. 45; VI. 65); Rohaṇa[17] (IV. 11); Trikūṭa[18] (VI. 73) and Vindhya (XXII. 34); Sumeru or Meru[19] (IV. 62); Mandara[20] (V. 5; 7); Maināka[21] (IX. 52); Astabhūbhṛt[22] (X. 2); Lokāloka[23] (XX. 10). The last five mountains belong to the sphere of Pauranic Geography.

Oceans :—He mentions the following oceans :—The Eastern ocean (XII. 56); the Western ocean (X. 6); and the ocean of milk (XIII. 42). Again in III.12 the ocean of milk is spoken of as an abode of Lord Viṣṇu[24].

Products

The following products have been mentioned by the poet :—

1. *Saffron* :—With the saffron fibres acting as the messengers in all the quarters like the Prāsas (kind of implements) of cupid which equally divide as it were the blood of the hearts of the separated whose (of the region) fame increases (III. 17).

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17 It is a mountain situated in Ceylon. As the poet says it abounds in rubies. Cf. यो मूर्ति रोहणं जेतुं पद्मरागमयीमिव । IV. 11.

18 Cf. Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa (Gujarati Printing Press ed.) VI. 40. 2-3.

19 It is referred to as a mountain of Indra. At present it is called Altai (golden) mountains and is situated in Mongolia.

20 It was made the bow of Śiva while fighting with Tripura. At present it is known as the Khingan Mountains and is situated on the border of Mongolia and Manchuria. For the identification of the mountains Meru and Mandara see pp. 5-7 of an appendix to "Genealogical Tables of the Solar and the Lunar dynasties with the map of Jambū-Dvīpa" by Shri M. M. Yajnik.

21 For the legend of its escape from getting its wings cut by Indra by residing in ocean see chapter on Maṅkha's Erudition Paurāṇic stories.

22 It is a mountain on which the sun and the moon are supposed to set. In ancient times when Hiraṇmaya was the home of the Aryans the evening twilights used to end at the time of the sun's crossing the 20th meridian west of Greenwich and passing over the northern extension of the Appalachian mountain which was therefore considered the Astabhūbhṛt cf. M. M. Yajnik, op. cit., p. 2. Afterwards when the home of the Aryans was changed any other mountain situated near the setting point was called Astādri.

23 Lokāloka is a mountain forming the boundary of the earth vide Br. I. 1. 78; 3.31; Vā. 49.144; 50.155, 160, 205; 101. 191-2. Elsewhere in Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa it is mentioned as a mythical mountainous belt in the south separating the visible world from the world of darkness. Vide Br. II. 15.3; 19.150; 21, 51, 101 and 106, 155; III. 7. 294; IV. 2. 194. It is 10,000 yojanas in height and breadth and is protected by four guardians, Sudhāman and others on the four directions. Vide Vi. II. 4. 94; 8.82-3. According to Bhā. V. 20. 34-42, Lokāloka is a chain of hills beyond the Svādūdaka (i.e. Pacific ocean), between the Loka where the sun shines and Aloka where he does not. The regions lighted by the sun are said to cover 50 crores of yojanas. The chain of the Lokāloka is said to occupy a fourth of the area of the globe. In the Aloka yogeśvara-Kṛṣṇa travels.

24 According to Purāṇas śākadvīpa is surrounded by the Kṣīrasāgara (Milk-ocean). Śākadvīpa is constituted of North America, Greenland, Central America, West Indies, Equador, Colombia and Venezuela. cf. M. M. Yajnik, op. cit., p. 2.

The land of which (country) makes the mark on the forehead of the woman-kind of all the three worlds live long with the saffron fibres which are like the rays of the rubbies in the crown of the presiding deity of the earth (III. 6).

2. *Grapes* :—In XIV. 55 mention is made of Mārdvīka i.e. wine prepared from grapes. Thus there is a covert allusion to the production of grapes also.

3. *Oranges* :—In that country where do there not appear in the cold season the oranges (Nāgaraṅga) in the wine yards of the pleasure-seekers (III. 5)? They are referred to in XIV. 65 also.

4. *Sugar-cane* :—In XVI. 40 mention is made of Śoṇa i.e. A kind of red sugar-cane.

5. *Mangoes* :—The poet has also mentioned the mango trees (cūta or sahakāra) in VI. 49; 58.

6. *Cocoanuts* :—He has mentioned the cocoanuts (Nārikela) as the products of Karṇāṭaka country in VI. 62.

7. *Sandal trees* :—There is a reference to the sandal trees growing on the Malaya (Malayaruha) mountain (in Kerala) in VII. 15; 16 etc.

8. *Cardamom* :—In VII. 21 it is stated that the wind from the Malaya mountain which overpowers the fragrance of Cardamom (Elā) by the fragrance similar to that of the rut of an elephant arouses passion in the worlds. Thus it is stated that cardamom plants were growing on that mountain.

The first three out of the above-mentioned eight products are the products of Kāśmīr while the rest are the products of the different parts of India as stated above.

Astronomical Geography

Maṅkha's knowledge of the astronomical geography becomes clear from the following references :—In the winter season the days become shorter and the nights longer (II. 21) ; (VII.28). In summer the days become longer and the nights shorter (VI. 7).

The month of Āṣāḍha (July) is characterized by extreme heat (VII. 30; XIX. 14). The heat of the sun is the cause of rain (II. 31).

That the sun and the wind always travel in the opposite directions i.e. if one goes from south to north the other will go from north to south is mentioned in VI. 2; VII. 50.

The rays of the moon enter the orb of the sun on the Amāvāsyā day and so it is not seen (XII.60; 69).

In the compact mass of the interior of the sun is to be traced the origin of the planet moon (XII.65).

CHAPTER IX

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL DATA

Maṅkha is one of those great poets who flourished during the 12th century in Kashmir. The purpose of the composition of the Śc. as repeatedly stated by the poet himself was to eulogize Lord Śiva. Hence we can legitimately hope for impartial judgement and historical approach in respect of whatever scanty historical and political matter that might be alluded to in this poem and to a certain extent they are visualized also. Thus we find that while praising the king the poet has not employed hyperbole beyond all measure. Moreover only in one place Sussala is praised being called a king of gods i.e. Indra on earth (III. 62). Elsewhere in many places his prowess is praised. In III. 66 Jayasiṃha is mentioned without any special praise while st. 61 of canto XXV is composed in praise of Jayasiṃha by Devadhara. Only it is included in his poem by Maṅkha. In addition to that the poet has made it clear that it was a pity that the poets used to eulogize a human being (i. e. a king) who was suffering from deafness on account of pride, leaving aside Lord Śiva who had ears everywhere (XXV. 6). This shows that the poet was disinclined towards eulogizing any human being perhaps because his personal opinion about the two rulers was not favourable. Only to escape the consequences of the displeasure of the king (who was his boss also) the poet has praised the rulers and has avoided pointing out any blemish in them. Keeping in mind the above facts we shall try to examine the historical information provided by the poem.

1 *Historical Data*

The poet refers to the power of Harṣa[1] the king of Kasmir, who was vanquished by Sussala (III. 47). Sussala won a victory over his enemies everywhere (III. 48). The prowess of Sussala became unbearable to his enemies (III. 49). King Sussala appointed Śṛṅgāra as a Bṛhattantrapati i.e. a magistrate (III. 50). Sussala, the king of gods on earth[2], appointed Alaṅkāra as a minister

1 In XXV.97 Śambhu is mentioned as a great Poet (Mahākavi) and as a father of Ānanda. This Śambhu had written a poem called Rājendrakarṇapūra in praise of king Harṣa of Kāśmīra. The extraordinary high praise conferred on Harṣa in this poem is worth contrasting with the matter of fact account of Harṣa's career as found in the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa. Kalhaṇa's account stands in sharp contrast to Harṣa's eulogy in Rājendrakarṇapūra and provides sufficient evidence to conclude that the high praise conferred on Harṣa by Śambhu was unmerited. Not only that but Harṣa's weaknesses, drawbacks and vices were also largely responsible in bringing about his tragic end. Thus the poem Rājendrakarṇapūra lacks the historical approach and impartial judgement.

2 A marked contrast in the evaluation of Sussala's career as a king is to be found between Maṅkha's Śc. and Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī. Following the account of Kalhaṇa, Dr. Stein in his

for war and peace[3] (III. 62). Before the appointment of Alaṅkāra as a minister for war and peace the companions of kings used to cover doors of temples with thick paste of mud on account of the danger from the opponents.[4] But Alaṅkāra subdued the enemies. Consequently the danger of the destruction of the images of deities was removed and so the doors of the temples were kept open (III. 62). Jayasiṃha, the son of king Sussala appointed Maṅkha as a Prajāpālanakārya-pūruṣa i.e. a Dharmādhikārin (III. 66). The description of the parting of the warriors from their beloveds as given in XXI. 20-29 is too graphic to be believed as imaginary. It probably echoes the poet's own witnessing of such a parting of warriors from their beloveds for the sake of taking part in many wars which took place during the reign of Sussala and Jayasiṃha.[5] There is a reference to Jalhaṇa[6], the regulator of peace and war who belonged to Rājapurī and who was present in the assembly of learned persons which was held at the house of Alaṅkāra, poet's brother in XXV. 75. In the time of the poet, king Somapāla was the ruler of Rājapurī. The information given above is supported by Rājataraṅgiṇī[7].

The poet also mentions Suhala, as an ambassador of Govindacandra, the king of Kānyakubja (Kanoja) who was present in the assembly of learned persons (XXV. 102). This Suhala gave Maṅkha a riddle (samasyā) for solution which the poet solved immediately to the astonishment of the gathering.[8]

Similarly the poet makes mention of Tejakaṇṭha who was sent by Aparāditya, the king of Kuṅkuṇa (Koṅkaṇa) as an ambassador to Kāśmīra as one attending the assembly in XXV.110. Moreover his requesting the poet to

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introduction to the translation of Rājataraṅgiṇī writes—'the same conclusion is indicated by the harsh if just remarks which Kalhaṇa makes regarding the reign of Sussala, Jayasiṃha's father. He openly denounces the grave defects of his character, his wanton cruelties, avarice etc. He does not even hesitate to record the popular opinion that he was possessed by a demon'. Vol. I, P. 18. Maṅkha's high praise of Sussala stands in sharp contrast to the above estimate. The reason is obvious. Whereas Kalhaṇa was not under the patronage of either Sussala or Jayasiṃha, Maṅkha and his elder brothers were patronised by them. Thus the personal relations with the then rulers clearly explain their high praise.

3 Afterwards Maṅkha himself succeeded to the post of a minister for war and peace. Vide Rājataraṅgiṇī VIII. 3354.

4 Cf. 'लेखानां देवानां च वर्गस्य मुखं विमुद्रं चक्रे। पूर्वं पारिषदा देवकुलद्वारं परिपन्थिभयान्मृत्तिकया बबन्धुस्तेन तु परिपन्थिषु मथितेषु देवमूर्तीनां भङ्गभयव्यपगमाद्द्वाराण्युदघाटयन्।'
Jonarāja, p. 42 (NSP. ed.)

5 For detailed information about these wars see Rājataraṅgiṇī VIII.

6 He has written a poem on king Somapāla, his patron. The name of the poem is Somapālavilāsa.

7. Cf. राजपुर्यामाकुलत्वं नीतायामाससाद तत्।
तद्भर्तुः सोमपालस्य दूरस्थस्यान्तिकं चिरात्॥ राजतरङ्गिणी ८।१४६७

8 Cf. Śc. XXV. 104–105.

compose stanzas in praise of a king (XXV. 116-119) was well complied with by Maṅkha (XXV. 120-126).

As regards canto XXV of Śc. Dr. De writes—' In the last canto,..we have an account of some historical and literary interest, written in the simpler and easier śloka metre, of an assembly of learned men, held under the patronage of the poet's brother Alaṅkāra, a minister of Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1127-1150 A.D.), on the occasion of the completion and reading of the poem. It includes thirty names of scholars, poets and officials, stating their capacities and their tastes '[9].

The names of actually thirty-two scholars have been mentioned who were present in the assembly along with their personal attainments in canto XXV. They are—

No.	*Name of the Scholar*	*Personal Attainments*	*Referred to in*	
1.	Ānanda,	a Naiyāyika	XXV.	83-84
2.	Ānand, the son of the poet Śaṃbhu,	a Vaidya	,,	96-97
3.	Bhuḍḍa,	a poet	,,	81-82
4.	Dāmodara,	an official	,,	67-68
5.	Devadhara,	an architect	,,	57-59
6.	Garga,	a poet	,,	55-56
7.	Govinda,	a poet	,,	76-77
8.	Jalhaṇa, a poet,	Minister of Rājapurī	,,	73-75
9.	Janakarāja,	a grammarian and a Vaidika	,,	92-93
10.	Jinduka,	a Mīmāṃsaka	,,	71-72
11.	Jogarāja	a teacher of poetry	,,	106-107
12.	Kalyāṇa, a pupil of Alakadatta,	a poet, resembling Bilhaṇa in style	,,	78-80
13.	Lakshmīdeva,	a Vaidika	,,	89-91
14.	Loṣṭadeva,	a poet	,,	34-36
15.	Maṇḍana, son of Śrīgarbha,	a fellow student of Maṅkha, learned in all Śāstras	,,	51-53
16.	Nāga,	a grammarian, proficient also in the Alaṅkāraśāstra	,,	62-64
17.	Nandana,	a Brahmavādin	,,	22-25
18.	Padmarāja,	a poet	,,	85-86
19.	Paṭu,	a poet	,,	129-131
20.	Prakaṭa,	a Śaiva Philosopher	,,	94-95
21.	Ramyadeva,	a Vaidika and an Advaita Vedantin	,,	31-33

9 Vide Dr. De., HSL. Vol. I, p. 323.

No.	*Name of the Scholar*	*Personal Attainments*	*Referred to in*
22.	Ruyyaka,	Maṅkha's Guru	XXV. 26-30, 135
23.	Ṣaṣṭha,	a Paṇḍita	,, 69–70
24.	Śrīgarbha,	a poet	,, 48–50
25.	Śrīgunna,	a Mīmāṃsaka	,, 87–88
26.	Śrīkaṇṭha,	son of Śrīgarbha, a scholar	,, 54
27.	Śrīvatsa,	a poet	,, 81–82
28.	Suhala,	a Vaidya, younger brother of Ānanda, son of Śaṃbhu	,, 98–99
29.	Suhala,	ambassador of king Govinda-chandra of Kanoj	,, 100-102
30.	Trailokya,	a Mīmāṃsaka	,, 65-66
31.	Tejakaṇṭha,	ambassador of Aparāditya, king of Koṅkaṇa	,, 108-111
32.	Vāgīśvara,	a poet	,, 127

The additional available information regarding some of the scholars mentioned above is as follows :—

No.	*Name*	*Information*
5.	Devadhara :	"Bhāgavatācārya—wrote a commentary on some Gṛhyasūtra." CC. Vol. I, p. 258.
8.	Jalhaṇa :	Composed 'Somapālavilāsa' a mahākāvya, which gives an account of the life of 'Somapāla,' the king of Rājapurī, who was conquered by Sussala. Rājataraṅgiṇī viii. 621 f. mentions 'Somapālavilāsa'. He is referred to by Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī viii. 1467. He also wrote 'Mugdhopadeśa' which is ethical in character.[10] It is published in Kāvyamālā.
10.	Jinduka :	Stanzas from him appear in the Subhāṣitāvali under the name of Jenduka.
12.	Kalyāṇa :	A poet-historian of Kashmir; son of Champaka (minister of king Harṣa of Kashmir, 1089-1101 A.D.). He is the famous author of Rājataraṅgiṇī popularly known as Kalhaṇa. He is referred to as Kalyāṇa, the Sanskrit form of his name, in Śc. XXV, pp. 78-80. Composed 'Ardhanārīśvarastotra' in 18 verses. It is published in Kāvyamālā Guccha XIV, pp. 1-3. Seven

10 Vide 'History of Classical Sanskrit Literature' by M. Krishnamachariar, Madras, 1937, p. 268.

No.	*Name*	*Information*
		of the Maṅgalaślokas of the 8 Taraṅgas of the Rājataraṅgiṇī form part of this stotra. Also composed Jayasiṃhābhyudaya quoted in Ratnakathā(kaṇṭha's) Sārasamuccaya (on Kāvyaprakāśa) ascribed to Kalhaṇa according to Kashmir tradition (IHQ. XXXI, P. 253. New CC. Vol. III, pp. 263-64.
14.	Loṣṭadeva :	" Son of Ramyadeva. " Composed " Dīnākrandanastotra. " CC. Vol. I, p. 546.
21.	Ramyadeva :	" Father of Loṣṭadeva. " CC. Vol. I, p. 493.
22.	Ruyyaka (Rucaka)	"Son of Rājānaka Tilaka." CC. Vol. I, p. 527. Over and above 'Alṅakārasarvasva,' composed between 1135-1150 A.D. and 'Śrīkaṇṭhastava,' Ruyyaka composed 'Alaṅkārānusāriṇī,' an independent work on Alaṅkāra, 'Nāṭakamīmāṃsā,' 'Vyaktivivekavicāra,' 'Sāhityamīmāṃsā,' and 'Harṣacaritavārtika as well as 'Kāvyaprakāśasaṃketa' and 'Sahṛdayalīlā'. 'Alaṅkārasarvasva' is a standard work on figures of speech. The author is a staunch advocate of the dhvani school.
26.	Śrīkaṇṭha	"Younger brother of Maṇḍana." CC. Vol. I, p. 667.

The poem was highly appreciated by the members of the assembly (XXV. 144-150). With reference to the importance of canto 25, Dr. Bühler writes— ' This canto has a double value. It gives a faithful picture of a sabhā, one of the chief modes of social intercourse among the learned in India........Besides it contains some valuable historical notes. Firstly, it enables us to fix the time of Alaṅkārasarvasva, whose author, Ruyyaka, can be nobody else but Maṅkha's guru, who instructed the poet in the Kāvya and Alaṅkāraśāstras. There are, secondly, the two ambassadors, Suhala, sent by Govindachandra, the Rathor of Kanoj, who reigned, according to his inscriptions, between 1120 and 1144 A.D.[11] and Tejakaṇṭha, sent by Aparāditya, the lord of the Koṅkaṇa, whose inscriptions are dated 1185 and 1186 A.D[12]. The mention of the latter, which shows that a political connection existed between Aparāditya during the period 1135-1145 and Kāśmīr, is of great interest. For it proves that the reign of Aparāditya must have been of long duration, and reduces the gap in the history of the Śilaharas after Śrī Mamvani's (or, as I prefer to read, Śrīman Vani's) inscription dated Śaka

11 Prinsep, Essays II. 258.

12 Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. XII., Art. IX, and an unpublished Society's Museum,

982, A.D. 1060, very considerably. It also explains how the commentary of Aparāditya on the Yājñavalkyasmriti came to Kāśmīr, and why it is now almost the only law-book used by the Paṇḍits. Thirdly, the incidental mention of Rājaśekhara (v. 74) and of Bilhaṇa (v. 80) as poets of established reputation is a valuable contribution to the history of Sanskrit literature '[13]. As regards the contribution to the history of Sanskrit literature Dr. De[14] in ' A History of Sanskrit Literature ' Classical period, states that—' It would not be unjustifiable, therefore, to place Murari at the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. This date accords well with a passage of the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita (XXV. 74), in which Maṅkhaka mentions and apparently makes him a predecessor of Rājaśekhara. '

2 *Political Data*

In VII. 50 we have a clear reference to the transfer of servants for the protection of the territory by the kings. The same practice is in vogue nowadays also.

In VI.4 there is a mention of ṣāḍguṇya which means six measures of royal policy to be practised by a king in warfare viz. Sandhi, ' peace ', Vigraha ' war ' Yāna, ' marching ' Āsana, ' sitting encamped ', Dvaidhī-bhāva, ' dividing his forces ', Saṃśraya, ' seeking the protection of a more powerful king '. In VI. 50 there is a reference to the system of keeping feudatories. The feudatory kings had to wait upon their sovereign king. A glimpse of this is found in XVI. 27-29. In order to wake up the king in the early morning, the panegyrists used to sing panegyrics called Bhogāvali (XVI. 1). At the time of the coronation of a king his head was tied with a band (VIII. 44; XI. 23). A king used to give letters containing royal command in his own handwriting to his promising subordinates (XV. 32). He used to wave his right hand to benumb the noise of the persons in his court (XIX. 9). In canto XVII we have a vivid picture of the court of Lord Śiva which is so true to life that it seems to echo a real court of a king. In XXIV. 34 there is an indirect reference to poet's own experience of witnessing the release of captives. At the time of starting of a commander of an army on an expedition the conches were blown for the sake of auspiciousness (XII. 42). The kings used to keep bodyguards for their protection. This practice is mentioned in VI. 42; XV. 8.

Kalhaṇa is another eminent writer who was a contemporary of Maṅkha and who has supplied us valuable historical information pertaining to those times. Kalhaṇa is referred to by Maṅkha under the name Kalyāṇa according to the opinion of Dr. Stein. He writes—" In reality, however, Maṅkha on his own part has not failed to mention his distinguished fellow poet, the author of our chronicle. But the name by which he refers to him, is, on the first look, so

13 Vide Dr. Bühler's Kashmir Report (extra number of) JBRAS, Bombay, 1877, pp. 51-52.
14 Vide Dr. De, History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, p. 449.

different from our familiar "Kalhaṇa", that we can scarcely feel surprised at the chronicler having so far not been recognized in this incognito.

From Jonarāja, the commentator of the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, we learn that the otherwise unknown Alakadatta whom Maṅkha evidently wishes to mention as Kalyāṇa's patron, held the position of Sāndhivigrahaka or minister of foreign affairs. He further correctly indicates that by the Kathās, in the study of which Kalyāṇa is said to have been so deeply interested, the stories of the Mahābhārata and other epic texts are meant. But of Kalyāṇa's person himself the learned commentator has nothing to tell us.

The name Kalhaṇa is undoubtedly an Apabhraṃśa form derived through Prākrit Kallāṇa from Sanskrit Kalyāṇa, which being a word of auspicious meaning ('happy, blessed'), is often found as a proper name. The consonantal group 'ly' becomes by a regular phonetic law 'll' in Prākrit, and this again is liable to appear as 'lh' in Apabhraṃśa and the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars." [15]

Kalhaṇa was not under the patronage of Jayasiṃha according to the remarks made by Dr. Stein in his introduction to the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Dr. Stein writes—"The outspoken manner in which he judges of the king's character, and the undisguised allusions to the reprehensible nature of many of his actions make it very improbable that he ever expected royal recognition."[16]

Thus it is clear that Kalhaṇa is the best guide in matters relating to the history and politics of Kāśmīra of the twelfth century to which period Maṅkha belonged.

Following the account of Kalhaṇa, Dr. Stein in his introduction to the translation of Rājataraṅgiṇī writes—'The commencement of the twelfth century is marked in the history of Kaśmīr by the important dynastic revolution which brought about material changes in the political state of the country. King Harṣa whose rule (A.D. 1089-1101) seems at first to have secured to Kaśmīr a period of consolidation and of prosperous peace, had subsequently fallen a victim to his own Nero-like propensities. Heavy fiscal exactions necessitated by a luxurious court, and a cruel persecution of the Ḍāmaras who formed the landed aristocracy, had led to a rebellion under the leadership of the brothers Uccala and Sussala, two relatives of Harṣa from a side branch of the Lohara dynasty. Harṣa had succumbed in the struggle and had found a tragic death by murder.

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15 Vide Dr. Stein's introduction to the Translation of Rājataraṅgiṇī Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

16 Compare particularly the references to Jayasiṃha's character, viii 1553 sqq.; 1566; 2105 sqq.; 3405 sqq.; his treacherous conduct viii 2083 sqq ; 2186sqq.; 2381; 2978 sqq.; his bad Policy, viii 2969 sqq.; the distress under his rule, viii 2809. Vide Dr. Stein, Introduction to the translation of Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, Vol. I, P. 17.

The rebel princes who in their success had threatened to become rivals, avoided a conflict for the crown by a partition of Harṣa's territories. Kaśmīr was to be ruled by Uccala, the elder brother, while the adjoining hill-state of Lohara, the original home of the family, fell to Sussala...His (Uccala's) reign (A.D. 1101-11) was threatened frequently by the rise of pretenders, and invasions on the part of his own brother Sussala. Ultimately he was murdered by a conspiracy among his trusted officials ......

Ultimately Sussala allied himself with Gargacandra and secured through his help the long coveted throne. In contrast to his elder brother he seems to have been personally brave, but rash, cruel, and inconsiderate. His rule, A.D. 1112-28, was practically one long and disastrous struggle with the irrepressible Ḍāmaras and with dangerous pretenders. When Sussala after much fighting and treachery had at last succeeded in destroying Gargacandra, the discontent of the Ḍāmaras broke out in a great general rebellion. In Bhikṣācara, a grandson of Harṣa, who had been brought up abroad, they found the desired pretender. Sussala's oppression and senseless cruelties increased their ranks, until they were strong enough to besiege the king in his capital. After a protracted defence during which the capital suffered severely, Sussala was obliged to flee to Lohara. Bhikṣācara was crowned in the capital and held nominal rule over Kaśmīr for a little over six months (A.D. 1120-21) ....The eyes of the populace turned once more towards Sussala. After successfully repulsing a Kaśmīrian force which had been sent against Lohara, Sussala came back to Kaśmīr, and owing to the Ḍāmara's disunion, recovered the throne (A.D. 1121).

During the following seven years civil war continued almost without interruption...........Finally, in 1128, Sussala, fell a victim to a murderous plot which he had himself started for the destruction of his rival. His son Jayasiṃha who succeeded him, found the Ḍāmaras as strong as ever and Bhikṣācara ready to march into Śrīnagara. The means by which he gradually secured a footing and restored at least a semblance of royal authority, were not the reckless valour of his father, but compromise with feudal grandees and Macchiavellian cunning. For two years after his accession the danger from Bhikṣācara continued until the brave pretender was treacherously entrapped and killed in a frontier castle. Scarcely had this enemy been put out of the way, when a successful conspiracy placed the ancestral castle and territory of Lohara in the hands of a new pretender, Loṭhana, a brother of Salhaṇa..........Though Lohara was ultimately retaken through treachery, Loṭhana and Mallārjuna, another pretender, continued to harass Kaśmīr for years........When at last Mallārjuna had been captured (A.D. 1135), the exhausted country seems to have obtained a respite from its troubles and sufferings. This was not to last long. In the year 1143 we find Jayasiṃha confronted again by dangerous rivals. Bhoja, the new pretender, a

son of Salhaṇa, obtained powerful allies in the Darads, the northern neighbours of Kaśmīr............Ultimately Jayasiṃha's diplomacy scored a success by a peaceful pact with Bhoja (A.D. 1145). But Kalhaṇa's narrative shows plainly that the forces of internal strife and disruption which had crippled the unfortunate country ever since the time of Harṣa were by no means spent when he wrote his chronicle.[17]

Thus it appears quite probable that it is because of Maṅkha's unfavourable opinion as regards the king's character and conduct that he has refrained from praising him extravagantly.

17 Vide Dr. Stein, Introduction to the translation of Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, Vol. I, PP. 15-17.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS DATA

I Social Data

Without the study of society the study of the cultural history will ever remain incomplete. For the study of Ancient Indian Culture there are written and unwritten sources viz. the literary works of various authors, inscriptions, archaeological finds etc. To the student of Indian Culture the Śc. supplies considerable information for the reconstruction of the social, cultural and religious history of medieval India. The term 'Society' means the whole tissue of human relations whether organised or otherwise. The concept of society implies contact direct or indirect and the binding tie of relations enduring and comprehensive. Society is not relations but beings in their relationships. Thus the study of society takes into account the study of the institution of caste or class, occupations, customs, food, dress, beliefs, family life etc.

The Caste System

The institution of caste is a peculiar feature of Indian society which distinguishes it from other societies wherein the system of class is prevalent. The caste-system is based on the hierarchical order. The brahmin stands at the head in the traditional order and commands high respect from times immemorial. The brahmins were held in high esteem and their blessings were sought most earnestly, to which they usually responded well (XI. 42). If a brahmin ceased to study the branch of Veda to which he belonged he was considered a degraded person (VIII. 25). The brahmins were not expected to drink wine (VIII. 25; XII. 71; XIV. 61; 62). Brahmacārins used to put on black antelope-hide (III. 4). The drinkers of Soma are referred to in XXV. 91. An ascetic belonging to the Vedanta school used to put on scarlet clothes as at present (XXV. 31).

People used to stick to their own respective castes unflinchingly and looked upon the abolition of castes as a calamity[1] (IV. 53).

The Kāyasthas known as scribes are referred to in VI. 70. They belong to a writer caste procceding from a Kṣatriya father and a Śūdrā mother. This shows that even though the ties of caste system were quite strong in those days still intermingling of castes was also not uncommon in the society.

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1 Cf. Jonarāja : वर्णान्तराणां ब्राह्मणादीनामपह्नव एकवर्णतापादनमिति लेशतो ध्वनितम् ।
P. 55 (NSP. ed.)

There is a reference to Pulindas, a barbarous tribe in XI. 2. Therein it is also stated that they used to catch fish with a fishhook. It may be one of their means of subsistence.

Maṅkha refers to untouchability prevailing in his times (II. 14).

Occupations

In ancient India generally the occupations were hereditory. The law-givers had prescribed occupations for different castes. The result was the immobility of occupations. Here and there some movement from one occupation to another was also met with. We are supplied with information regarding following occupations by the poem :—

Weaving (IV.34); painter (XIII. 28); actor (VII. 42; XVII. 67); actresses (IX. 14); the art of dancing (III. 48); architects (II. 56); cultivation (XII. 27); bards (VI. 67; XII. 9; XVI. 57; XVII. 3; 9); Panegyrists (those who sing panegyrics called Bhogāvali)[2] (VI. 55; XVI. 1); Sanke-charmers (XV. 16); magicians (II. 23); magic (VII. 54); watchman on guard at night (VI. 74); śarakāra (arrow-maker) (VIII. 21) etc.

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2 'Bhogāvali is a *short description in verse treating of pleasant objects like a flower garden, the spring, the virtues of a lover etc.* It is divided into small sections of eight or four lines, called 'skandhas'. Vidyānātha thus defines Bhogāvali in his Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa. He says—

आद्यन्तपद्यसंयुक्ता संस्कृतप्राकृतात्मिका ।
अष्टभिर्वा चतुर्भिर्वा वाक्यैः स्कन्धसमन्विता ॥
प्रतिस्कन्धं भिन्नवाक्यरीतिर्देवनृपोचिता ।
सर्वतो देवशब्दादिरेषा भोगावली मता ॥

The Commentator remarks atra bhogopakaraṇodyānavasantanāyakaguṇādivarṇanaṃ prāyeṇa kartavyam. This definition is found in Mandāramarandacampū (Kāvyaprakaraṇa) also and expresses the later Alaṃkāra view. Jonarāja on Śc. VI. 55 explains the word as upabhoga-varṇanā. It is enough to note that the word is generally used in the sense of '*a poetical composition on a delightful subject*'. Cf. Rājabhavanabhūmiṣu bhogāvalipāṭheṣu Yaśastilaka (chap. 2), wherein the phrase is explained as gītakāra in the commentary; Sotkaṇṭhamutkaṇṭhasva bhogāvalīpāṭheṣu ibid. (here the expression is explained in the commentary as Surata-krīḍāvacanapaṭhaneṣu; and bhogāvalīpāṭhinaḥ ibid. (chap. 3), explained in the commentary as Cāraṇabhāṭasya. The testimony of Yaśastilaka points to the existence of a class of men employed by kings to recite bhogāvalī verses. Compare Śc. XVI. 1 also. The word occurs also in Tilakamañjari-maṅgalapāṭhakasyeva bhogāvalī......; in Viddhaśālabhañjikā (Act 4). Bhogāvalī is used in the sense of '*panegyric*' or '*hymn*' in Vemabhūpālacarita—asyāḥ (caṇḍikāyāḥ) punarapadānabhogāvalī Vedāḥ; and in Rāghavapāṇḍavīya I. 6. Hemacandra says nagnaḥ stutivratastasya grantho bhogāvalī bhavet, and remarks bhogaḥ sukham taddhetutvāt bhogāḥ stutayaḥ, tāsāmāvalī bhogāvalī.

Bhogāvali verses or panegyrics were recited on the battlefield by way of encouraging the soldiers. Cf. Haravijaya XLIV. 59.' Vide K. K. Handiqui, Naiṣadhacarita of Śriharṣa, second edition, Poona, 1956, pp. 611-612.

Costumes

Costume or attire has a very close connection with human culture. Usually attire is determined by the climatic conditions of a country and by the progress made towards civilisation by the people. Thus it indicates the stage of civilisation reached by the people.

In the times of the poet, ladies used to put on a veil (IV. 29). A kind of black net-cloth used to veil the faces of ladies (Nīlapaṭajālikā) is mentioned in XIII. 29.

Dukūla is referred to in VIII. 3 ; XI. 62 while a black Dukūla is mentioned in XI. 25. A white Dukūla is mentioned in IX. 11.

China-cloth is also referred to as Cīnacelam in XII. 97. It is also referred to in XI. 38 ; XV. 3.

Kañcuka or Kañculikā i.e. a bodice put on by ladies to cover their breasts is referred to in XIII. 32; XV. 10-14; 22. As the word itself shows it must be a stitched cloth[3] and not an unstitched cloth called Stanāṃśuka.

Uttarīya or the upper garment which was worn both by males as well as females is also mentioned in VII. 66; XV. 9.

Social and Religious Customs

Custom plays an important role in the regulation of the behaviour of the individuals. The force of custom is too powerful to be violated or transgressed.

The poem refers to various customs, conventions, beliefs, superstitions etc. in many places. Thus a graphic picture of medieval India is presented before us by the poem.

Such customs are given below:—

Nīrājanā or the circular waving of lights is referred to in XVI. 9; 49. Its original military character when it was performed on the eve of an expedition is referred to in XIX. 4.

A person defeated by another person used to circumambulate him[4] (III. 3).

If a defeated person did not pay his due to his conqueror that person was imprisoned (XIV. 59).

A person fit to be killed was covered with a red cloth and then was killed (III. 26; XXII. 18).

At the time of a person's going to the place of the god of death, a kettle drum was beaten in front of him (XXII. 9).

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3 The use of the word susyūtayoḥ in the sense of sewn with a needle testifies to the existence of stitched clothes in the times of the author.

4 Cf. Jonarāja: anyaśca balavatā jitaḥ saṃstasya pradakṣiṇaṃ karoti. P. 30 (NSP. ed.)

A person who wanted to take a promise from somebody, used to hold the hand of that person in his own hand (X. 7).

For the guidance of travellers indicatory boards were put on the roads (XII. 33). To them we can attribute the origin of modern sign-boards.

The custom of garlanding a person at the time of appointing him on a post is referred to in III. 50.

The social custom of seeing a dance performance by the groom and the bride in company of the relatives at the time of marriage is referred to in III. 48.

At the time of initiating a lady to a creed, the teacher used to scatter flowers on her head whose eyes might be closed due to concentration on the removal of worldly ties of her fellow-students (XII. 94).

The custom of putting on a veil was prevalent amongst the ladies in those times (III. 25; XIII. 25; 29).

Certain house-wives observed the vow of chastity and remained faithful to their husbands even when there was scarcity of food in the house, and thus did not deserve to be addressed with harsh words (II. 13).

A chaste woman never allowed herself to be touched or kissed by any man except her own husband (V. 28; VIII. 3). Nor did she allow anyone else than her husband to look at her face (XII. 79).

Widows did not bear saffron mark in their foreheads nor did they put on bangles in their hands and kept their bodies devoid of all auspicious things. (V. 31; XXI. 50; XXII. 56).

Married women could go to their parentś place only when they would get a reliable person to accompany them (IX. 3). This shows that the times did not vouchsafe any kind of safety at all.

In the month of Caitra, in spring, people used to swing (III. 30; VII. 51-52).

At times trumpet was blown to invite persons to take their dinner (XXIII. 5).

That vermilion was sprinkled at the time of a festive occasion is mentioned in XVIII. 11; XXII. 48; XXIII. 15.

A dance performance was usually arranged at the time of a festive occasion (XXIII. 15; XXIV. 14).

A kind of drum (Muraja) was beaten at the time of a dance performance (XXIII. 20).

At the time of starting on an expedition, a conch-shell was blown for the sake of auspiciousness (XIX. 47).

A conch was blown at the time of victory (XXIII. 23).

There was a custom of tying a band on the eyes of a student by a teacher at the time of imparting a secret (VII. 19; XI. 6).

A flying banner with jingling of small bells was introduced in the middle of a city along with the sound of a drum by the dependents of a conqueror (VII. 66).

When some danger was imminent as regards the safeguarding of the property, people used to deposit it with some reliable person (IV. 19).

Among ladies it was customary to put on a veil (Nīraṅgikā) (IV. 29).

Beliefs and Superstitions

People believed in the efficacy of mystic formulae and spells in counteracting the effects of poison (II.5 ; XII. 23). They also believed in the efficacy of a jewel in so doing (XII. 23).

There was a belief that the sound of a conch, when blown, brings about victory (VII.22).

People believed in the efficacy of medicinal herbs in helping them to win over their beloveds (XXI. 29).

They also believed that a treasure was usually guarded by a serpent (X. 45 ; XIV. 48).

In the times of the poet, it was believed that a dream which was dreamt at the close of a night, would turn out to be true (III. 76). This belief has been preserved until modern times.

People believed in the existence of a water-elephant (Jalebha) (Jalagaja) (IX. 39; X. 53; 54; XII. 53) and also in the existence of a water-horse (Salilaturaga) (IX. 41).

If at the time of starting on a journey, a black serpent goes across the road, the person going away will not return. This belief is given expression in III. 47.

There existed a belief in the Saṃgamanīyaratna which when put on would unite one with his or her beloved (II. 58; XI. 64). Cf. also विक्रमोर्वशीयम् IV. 36 (संगमनीयमणि).

The serpents were believed to hear with their eyes and so they were called Cakṣuḥśravas (II. 52). It was also believed that they can sustain their life by subsisting on wind only (XVI. 51) and that some of them have a jewel on their hood (XVI. 51).

Omens

The howling of jackals during day time was considered an ill omen (XXII. 32).

If at the time of going out from a house, a religious mendicant, clad in scarlet clothes happens to be in front of a person then he will not return (VI. 54).

The appearance of lightning without the clouds, was considered an ill-omen (XVIII. 13).

The appearance of a comet, the earthquake and the appearance of many Suns simultaneously were considered ill-omens (XVIII. 59).

The appearance of many Suns covered by untimely clouds, indicated the destruction of the worlds (XIX. 21).

The appearance of a comet, was considered a dreadful ill-omen (XIX. 52).

Past and Future Birth

The warriors who breathed their last heroically, were believed to have attained heaven and to have enjoyed the heavenly nymphs there (X. 48 ; XXI. 24 ; XXII. 53 ; XXIII. 9 ; 26 ; 27).

Sinful persons were meted out the punishment of the residence in hell, a kind of which like Asipattra and another type of it viz· Raurava are mentioned in XXII. 41.

Persons who might have passed away while fighting bravely, were supposed to have attained heaven after having pierced the orb of the Sun [5] (XXIII. 42).

Black Magic

Magical rites for harming or killing others usually known as Abhicāras are referred to as Apacāras in VI. 71.

As a means of Abhicārakarma the offering of the oblations of blood is mentioned in XX. 33.

Magical incantations called Uccāṭana are referred to in XV. 49.

Black magic is a characteristic feature of the Atharvaveda (XX. 33).

The reference in XVIII. 36 to the cult of Bhairava and the ghastly practice of devouring living beings shows the prevalence of it in the society of the times.

Pastimes

After carrying out the same monotonous task for long, human soul craves for relaxation and this instinct finds out various means of diversion.

The educated sector of the society was fond of literary pastimes e.g. Samasyāpūrti or completing a poem when only a line of it is given. A type of Ardhasamasyāpūrti in which one half is uttered by a particular person, while the latter half is completed by the other is mentioned in XXV. 105.

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5 Cf. द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके सूर्यमण्डलभेदिनौ ।
परिव्राड् योगयुक्तश्च रणे चाभिमुखो हतः ॥
Nārāyaṇa in his commentary on the Naiṣadhīyacarita, p. 495 (NSP. ed).

The game of dice was one of the popular games (XVII. 52).

People used to behold public shows such as drama (IX. 14; XV. 12); various performances of magicians (II. 23; VII. 54); dance performances (III. 48) etc.

Girls used to play with a ball (IX. 27).

Boys took delight in throwing dust on one another (VIII. 40).

Materials for Writing

Following materials for writing are mentioned in the poem:—Maṣī (Black ink) (VI. 70; X. 19); Pattra (VI. 70; XV. 32); Lekhanī (a pen) (XI. 43; XXV. 28); Maṣībhāṇḍa (an ink-pot) (VI. 51; X. 19). The Kāyasthas worked as scribes (VI. 70). Script (lipi) is also mentioned in VI. 70.

Education

That along with the study of Sanskrit, people learnt Prākrit languages also can be easily seen from XXV. 34 wherein it is stated that a scholar named Loṣṭadeva knew as many as six[6] languages.

There is a reference to the fourteen lores[7] in XX. 38.

Holiday was observed on the eighth day of a fortnight (IV. 50).

Persons full of pride, neglectful towards their study, and enjoying the company of their beloveds were considered unfit to learn any lore (VI. 36).

Flora and Fauna.

Following is the list of flora and fauna referred to in the poem :—

Flora :— Nāgaraṅga (Orange) (III. 5; XIV. 65); Gandhasāra (X. 36); Kuṅkuma (Saffron) (III. 6; 26; VI. 52; VIII. 28; IX. 44; X.24; XXIII. 34) or Ghusṛṇa (III. 17; VII. 15; 47; IX. 7; 32; 40; XI. 43; XII. 57; XIII. 2; XXII.14; 16; XXIII. 52) or Dhīram (VII. 16) or Pītana (VIII. 2; IX. 33; 34; XVIII. 35) or Ghanasāra (XII. 53) or Bāhlīka (XVI. 36; XVII. 2); Candana (VI. 6; 42; VII. 47) or Malayaja (VII. 16; XI. 33; XII. 69) or Malayaruha (VII. 15) or Malayavīrudh (VI. 67) or Śrīkhaṇḍa (VI. 68; X. 43; 44; XI.35); Vicakila (VI. 70; VII. 4; 23; XII. 97); Ketaka (III. 73; VII. 10; 45; XI.57); Aśoka (VI. 17; 18; 30; 31; 41; 61; VII. 16; 41; VIII. 22-24; 26-28; 31; 42; IX. 19; XII. 4); Pāṭali (trumpet flower) (VII. 17); Pāṭala (IX. 32; XII.2);

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6 Cf. Jonarāja : यदुक्तम्-'संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चैव शूरसेनी तदुद्भवा।
ततोऽपि मागधी प्राग्वत्पैशाची देशजेति यत् ॥'
P. 340. (NSP. ed.)

7 Cf. 'अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः ।
पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश ॥' P. 286 (NSP. ed).

Palāśa (VI. 5; 8; 19; VII. 20); Elā [8] (VII. 21); Bakula (VII. 25; VIII. 20; 25; 44); Sindh(-d-)uvāra (VII. 37; 49; VIII. 37; XII. 64; XIII. 10; XXIV. 27); Tamāla (IV. 58; VII. 41; X. 54) or Tāpiccha (III. 73); Cūta (VI. 11; 25; 45; 49; VII. 42; 50; VIII. 8; 56) or Sahakāra (VI. 55; 58; VIII. 30; 46; XII. 9); Nārikelī (VI. 62; XXIII. 48); Kaṅkellivalli (VI. 15; VII. 49); Campaka (VI. 27; 43; 48; 51; VII. 51; 52; VIII. 32; 33; 56); Atasī (VII. 52); Irā [9] (IV. 32); Akṣa (IV. 54; XIX. 42); Mandāra (IV. 59); Pārijāta (V. 1); Vāsantikā (VI. 12; 62); Karṇikāra (VI. 13 ; VIII. 19; IX. 3); Tilaka (VI. 28; VIII. 21); Kiṃśuka (VI. 52 ; VIII. 35); Kuraba(-ka) a (species of amaranth) (VI. 53); Kanakaketakī (VI. 67); Kunda (VI. 71); Kairava (X. 31; 32; 42; 43 ; XI. 8; 68; XII. 66); Mallī(-ka) (VI. 72; VIII. 47); Indīvara (a blue lotus) (VIII. 2; XXI. 48); Atimukta (VIII. 29 ; 43; 56; XIII. 11); Tagara (VIII. 34 ; XII. 56 ; XXIV. 30); Karavīra (VIII. 49); Kuvalaya (X. 60; XIV. 45; 64); Kumuda (XI. 12; 74; XII. 67; 69; XVI. 15); Utpala (a blue lotus) (XI. 27; XIV. 26; XV. 8); Mecakotpala (XIV. 43) or Nīlotpala (XV. 41); Śefālikā (XI. 36); Kadalī (XII. 1); Saṃtānaka (XII. 41; XVII. 64); Dūrvā (XII. 62); Kokanada (red lotus) (XIII. 1); Vāsantī (XIII. 44; 49); Mālatī (XIV. 30; 34; 38; 41); Tumbīfala (a gourd) (XIV. 60); Nāsīra (XV. 5; XVIII. 35); Aguru (XIII. 6).

Fauna :- Kaṇṭhīrava (VI. 8); Kṛṣṇasāra (VII. 10); Śafara (IX. 9); Timi (IX. 20; XII. 11); Eṇa (XI. 26) or Kamala (XII. 70; XVI. 7); or Mṛga (I. 18); Gandhasindhura [10] (a kind of elephant whose odour vanquishes the opposite elephants in a battle) XIII. 4; XIV. 22; XV. 23; XVIII. 38); Siṃha (I. 47) or Pañcāsya (I. 18); Sairibha (II. 10); Śva (II. 14) or Sārameya (II. 21); Gau (II. 28); Plavaṅga (II. 17); Vṛṣa (III. 33).

Drinks

1. *Milk* :—Milk formed one of the drinks, usually cow's milk was preferred (II. 40).
2. *Sugarcane-juice* :—People used to enjoy sugarcane-juice also (II. 42).
3. *Pānaka*:—A kind of drink prepared by mixing black pepper and sugar into water (II. 38). It is called 'Pano' in 'Gujarati' at present and is mostly taken in Summer.

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8. The mention of the fragrance of Elā side by side with that of the wind from Malaya testifies to poet's knowledge of Elā's being a product of Malaya mountain of south India. This may be due to poet's stay in south-west India as an ambassador.

9 Irāvati (M. W.), p. 141.

10 Cf. यस्य गन्धं समाघ्राय न तिष्ठन्ति प्रतिद्विपाः ।
तं गन्धहस्तिनं प्राहुर्नृपतेर्विजयावहम् ॥
—पालकाप्य

4. *Water:*—It was the most common drink as is at present also (VIII. 5-6).

5. *Wine :*—In winter, pleasure-seeking persons used to visit the places where wine was enjoyed (III. 5). Wine prepared from the grapes is referred to in XIV. 55.

Even though wine-drinking was in vogue in the days of the poet, it was censured by the good. This fact is mentioned by the poet in VI. 38. Brahmins were specially forbidden to drink wine (VIII. 25; XII. 71; XIV. 61; 62). The state of drunkenness in which a person is found stumbling and speaking incoherent things is mentioned in XIV. 55; XVI. 14. Other effects of drunkenness in which the eyes and cheeks are reddened and the speech becomes incoherent are mentioned in XVIII. 1.

Art and Architecture

In III. 11, the poet refers to the idol of Lord Śiva which is explained by the commentator to be Vijayeśvara. Similarly the idol of Lord Śiva is mentioned as being worshipped by the father of the poet called Viśvavarta in III. 40-44. Moreover, the idol of Śiva made up of wood and known as Kapaṭeśvara is also referred to in III. 14.

There is a reference to the fortress (Durga) in XIV. 39. In XVII. 59, rampart (Vapra) is also referred to. The word Aṭṭa is also used in the sense of a rampart in III.3. The gates of a big building were closed with a heavy bolt (Argalā) on them (XXIII. 50.)

In XVII. 59, the poet refers to the Gopura in the sense of a city gate which shows that the poet might be acquainted with the Gopuras or the ornamental gateways of temples which are found only in Southern India from very early times. The Gopuras are referred to by Bilhaṇa also in Vikramāṅkadevacarita XVIII. 35.

The poet also refers to the frescoes (citrabhitti) in XIV. 41.

There is a reference to the architects as Śilpakāru in II.56. Moreover, there is a reference to architecture (science of building) as Mandira in XXV. 57.

Arts and Crafts

Arts and crafts are some of the factors which reveal the material culture of the society. They also throw light on the aesthetic sense of the people. A painter is referred to in XIII. 28, while frescoes are also referred to in XIV. 41. The craft of hardening the arms by heating and then dipping them in water was well-known (XX. 49). That the craft of sewing was well-known in the times of the poet becomes evident from the use of the word susyūtayoḥ in the sense of 'sewn with a needle', in XV.21. There is another reference to the carft of sewing which required a needle and thread in XV. 25; XXV. 38. The preparation of wine from the grapes was well-known among the people since there is a

reference to wine prepared from the grapes in XIV.55. Water basins were prepared to water the trees (XIII. 16). A method of preparing drugs was well-known (XI. 4). In it the various ingredients were wrapped up in leaves and were covered with clay and then roasted in the fire. There is a reference to the removal of blots on mirrors etc. with the help of ashes in IX. 56; X. 58.

A female dancer is mentioned in I.35, while the art of dancing is mentioned in III. 48. In VII. 42, there is a direct reference to drama, to the curtain as well as to an actor. A similar reference is found in IX.14.

Musical Instruments

Bherī (XX. 65; XXI. 5; 16): a kettle drum. Ḍiṇḍima (XII. 13): a kind of small drum. Dundubhi (XXII. 27): a sort of large kettle-drum. Guñjā (VI. 72): a kettle-drum. Kona (X. 13; XX. 65; XXII. 27): a drum stick. Muraja (XVIII.52; XXIII.20): a kind of drum or tabor. Paṭaha (X.13; XXI.48; XXII. 9;58; XXIII.55): a kettle-drum. Tāla (XXII.28): a musical instrument made of bell metal. Tūrya (XV.49; XXII.26;27;36; XXIII.5; XXIV.3): trumpet.

Musical Terms:—The word 'Rāgarāja' (VI. 47; 58) as explained by the commentator Jonarāja means the rāga called Pañcama[11] (XII. 1).

Similarly the word 'Bhinnaṣaḍja' (XVI. 1) means a melody[12] sung in the early morning according to Jonarāja.

Pots

The following pots are mentioned in our poem:—

1. Ālukā (XIV. 42): a pitcher.
2. Bhājana (V. 42; XIV. 4): a vessel.
3. Bhāṇḍa (VI. 71; XIV. 4; 13): a pot.
4. Caṣaka (VIII. 6; XIV. 3; 7 etc.): a goblet i.e. a drinking glass with a foot and a stem.
5. Hasantikā (III. 29; VI. 15; XXII. 43): a portable fire place prevalent even to-day in Kashmir.
6. Kalaśa (IX. 54): a jug.
7. Karikā (XIV. 6): a kind of pot.
8. Kanakaśṛṅga (IX. 50): a horn-like vessel made of gold.
9. Kaṭāha (X. 61): a hollowed vessel.
10. Kumbha (X. 45; XIV. 14): a large earthen water jar.
11. Kuntala (XIV. 2; 11; 15): a drinking cup.
12. Pārī (XIV. 5): a cup.

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11 Cf. तत्रोन्मुखो रागराजः पञ्चमाख्यो रागो यस्य...... etc. (P. 84)
also..रागराजः पञ्चमो रागः...... etc. (P. 87, NSP. ed.)

12 Cf. तैरुत्ताण्डव उद्भटो भिन्नषड्जः प्रभातोचितो रागस्तस्य सच्विर्... etc. (P. 221, NSP. ed.)

Implements

The following implements are also referred to:—

1. Aṅkuśa (XII. 69): a goad.
2. Baḍiśa (XI. 2): a fish hook.
3. Gharaṭṭa (VI. 63; X. 56): Miller's stones.
4. Karapattra (XIV. 9): a saw.
5. Krakaca (VI. 21): a saw.
6. Kuñcikā (XIX. 1): a key.
7. Musala (V. 14): a pestle.
8. Prāsa (III. 17; XXI. 43; XXIII. 43): a barbed missile.
9. Sūci (XV. 25; XVIII. 24): a needle.

Decorations

Decorations of the males:—Males used to put on a band called Vīrapaṭṭikā[13] encompassing only the forehead (XII. 2). Even males used to put on earrings like the females (XVIII. 14). Necklace was also worn by males (XVIII. 4). An armlet was also a common ornament (XVIII. 26). Bracelets also were put on the wrists by the males (XII. 3). Males used to put on rings on the fingers (XVIII. 2; 21; 33). Collyrium was applied in the eyes (II. 19).

Decorations of the females:—After cleaning with water the hair was softened by fumigation and then tied into braids (X. 48; XII. 53; XIII. 30). Then the hair was decorated with flowers (XI. 27; 36). A particular type of braid of hair called Kurala[14] is mentioned in XIII. 25.

A gold chain or band called Lalāṭikā formed an ornament of the forehead (III. 1; 42). A kind of ear ornament called Dantapattra was worn by ladies (X. 49). Jonarāja states that it was prepared from the tusks of an elephant. Ladies used to put on earrings made up of pearls (XI. 21; XIII. 14) as well as of gold (XIV. 50; XV. 42). Ladies used to wear blue lotuses on the upper part of the ears (XXI. 48). They also used to apply collyrium in the eyes (XIV. 49). That the neck was adorned by a pearl necklace is mentioned in XII. 36; XIII. 19; 39; XXI. 50. At times the necklace was studded with jewels (XXI. 41). Armlets were also worn by the ladies (XIII. 23). Ladies used to put on ivory bangles also (XIII. 18). A girdle was also worn by the ladies which was usually made up of metal, at times of gold. Occasionally, precious jewels were studded in it (XI. 17; XII. 48; XIII. 24; 35; 44). Ladies usually put on anklets in their feet

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13 Cf. आलिख्य वीरपट्टे यन्त्रमिदं स्वमस्तकार्पितं कृत्वा ।
युध्यन् प्रत्यर्थिनमपि हत्वा यात्यव्रणाङ्कितो योद्धा ॥
Prapañcasāra Tantra XXXII. 23.

14 Cf. Jonarāja : प्रलम्बं दीर्घकेशत्वाल्लम्बमानं यत्कुरलमलकरचनाविशेषस्तद्व्याजात् ।
P. 188 (NSP. ed.)

(XI. 37; XII. 61; XIII. 35; 38; 44; XV. 1). They used to decorate their feet by red lac paint (XI. 50; XIII. 50; XV. 39; 48). Ladies annointed the different parts of their body (XII. 20; 97; XIII. 2; 3; 5; 52). Their breasts, cheeks, faces etc. were commonly decorated by ornamental lines (XI. 26; 28; XII. 57; 69; XIII. 13; 31).

Aesthetic Sense

Ladies of rank and station used to hold a lotus in their hand (XXI. 13). Mirrors were used for toileting (IX. 24; XIII. 7; 17; 37; 48). A kind of scented cosmetic prepared from the mixture of saffron, musk, camphor, and sandal paste is mentioned in IX. 38; XIII. 5. A kind of perfumed powder called Paṭavāsa was also used (XIX. 2). People used round pillows (Gaṇḍopadhāna) to rest the cheeks comfortably on them (XV. 6; 44; 49). Various figures were drawn on the body of an elephant of which that of a conch-shell drawn on its ears is mentioned in X. 50. The head of an elephant was decorated with vermilion paint (XIV. 46; XV. 30; XXIV. 26). That the practice of taming birds and keeping them in cages was in vogue in the times of the poet can be easily gathered from XVIII. 37.

Economic Conditions

In VIII. 14, there is a covert allusion to the system of barter in which a thing is exchanged for another thing. Even though there is no direct reference to the coins, their existence can be safely inferred from a reference to borrowing on interest in VII. 65.

Loan System

Lending and borrowing on a fixed interest was a common practice (VII. 65).

Moral Standard

The practice of polygamy is mentioned in VIII. 35; XIII. 50. Sexual faithlessness was an abiding evil of those times which is referred to in VIII. 39 ; XII. 87-93.

Punishments

Highwaymen were fettered tightly by the king's servants (VIII. 50). Thieves were beaten with sticks (IX. 37). A thief who had troubled the people was tied with iron chains and was put in a prison if he had arisen rashly (V. 35-36). At the time of banishing a wicked person, water mixed with ashes was sprinkled behind him in order to prevent his re-entering the country[15] (V. 51).

Effect of Winter on Life

In winter, people used to lighten up portable fire places in the inner apartments of their houses (III. 29). This practice is in vogue even to the present

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15 Cf. Jonarāja : दुष्टस्य देशान्निष्कासितस्य पुनः प्रवेशाभावार्थं पश्चाद्भस्मजलं क्षिप्यत इत्याचारः । P. 72 (NSP. ed.)

day in Kāśmīr and testifies to the extreme severity of its winter. This feature distinguishes the climate of Kāśmīr from that of the rest of India.

Society

Maṅkha refers to the connoisseurs forming a part of the society in II. 12.

In VI. 22, the poet refers to slanderers who often used to mislead the ruler, appropriated the property of temples and persecuted persons following the right path. This is a real picture of contemporary socio-political condition, since Kalhaṇa also in his Rājataraṅgiṇī echos the same state of affairs[16]

Miscellaneous

That Kāśmīr was a seat of learning in those days is mentioned in III. 10; 19 etc. Watchmen used to enjoy sleep alternatively in the night i.e. when one of them sleeps the other would keep awake and produce sounds (VI. 74). A reference to a horn-shaped jar used as a float to support a swimmer is found in IX. 50. A sort of ointment (Pādalepa) prepared from various medicinal herbs which when applied to the feet enables the person to walk an unusually long and difficult distance is referred to in II. 57.[17] There prevailed a belief in the existence of a Saṃgamanīyaratna which when put on unites one with his or her beloved[18] (II. 58).

RELIGIOUS DATA

Religious Life of the People

The following information can be gathered from the poem regarding the religious life of the people.

Morning adorations (or Prātaḥsandhyā) were performed by the twice borns (XVII. 2). Evening adorations (or Sāyaṃ-Sandhyā) were also performed by them (X. 18). There is a reference to the offering of an Argha to the Sun in X. 18. In the evening, ladies used to worship their favourite deities by circular waving of lights (XVI. 45).

Taking a sip of water is mentioned in XII. 38. People used to take a sip of water before taking meals (XXIV. 13). Vedic scholars (Vedavidaḥ) are referred to in XVII. 30. People used to repeat sacred formulae (Mantras) and meditate upon their object of worship keeping their lips throbbing and their eyes closed (XV. 40). There is a mention of strings of rosary beads (Rudrākṣamālās) used for repeating various formulae in IV. 56.

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16. Cf. VII. 1609 sqq., VIII. 782 sqq., 803 sqq., 824, 923, 927, 941, 1522, 1537, 1735 sqq. etc.

17. Cf. Marp. 61. 12–19.

18. Cf. संगमनीय इति मणिः शैलसुताचरणरागयोनिरयम् ।
आवहति धार्यमाणः संगममचिरात्प्रियजनेन ॥ विक्रमोर्वशीय ४/३६

Thus people led a fairly religious and pious life. However, religious intolerance was so much deep-rooted in the society that the doors of the temples were covered with thick paste of mud [19] on account of the fear of the destruction of the idols of the deities by the antagonists (III. 62).

Idol-worship

An idol of Lord Śiva is mentioned in III.11. An idol of Śiva known as Kapaṭeśvara was made of wood (III.14). The idol of Lord Śiva was worshipped by the father of the poet and not a Liṅga or phallus (III. 40-44). The joint form of Viṣṇu and Śiva, called Harihara, is referred to in III. 70;73. The four forms assumed by Lord Viṣṇu are also referred to as Acyuta (or Vāsudeva), Bala (or Saṃkarṣaṇa), Ślāghyadarpakala (or Pradyumna), and Aniruddha in XXV. 58. The idol of the Sun (Mārtaṇḍa) is also mentioned in III.15.

At the time of worship flowers were offered to the deity, songs in praise of the deity were sung, lamps were lighted and the worshipper bowed down his head with a devout heart (XVI.59). Circular waving of lights formed a part of the worship (XVI.49). Ladies also used to worship the deities by circular waving of lights, especially in the evening (XVI.45). However, on account of the fear of the destruction of the idols of the deities by the antagonists, the doors of the temples were covered with mud (III.62).

Materials used in the worship

Some of the things offered to the deity at the time of worship are as follows :—

Flowers (IV.37; V. 3; 4; VIII. 45; 46); seasoned food offered as naivedya (V.12); Piṣṭacaru or Puroḍāśa (a sacrificial cake of ground rice offered to the Sun god called Pūṣan) (V.42); Carubhāṇḍa (an oblation of rice or barley boiled for presentation to the gods and the manes) (VI. 71); various kinds of fruits were also offered as naivedya (IV. 41); water (IV. 39); lights (Dīpa) (IV. 38; V. 3); Musk-paste (III.42); sandal-paste (X. 18); Ornaments (here a bracelet made of jewels) (IX. 51); a kind of incense called aguru (III. 44).

Piṇḍas or balls of rice were offered to the manes along with water (XXV. 124).

Institution of Sacrifice

The abundance of yūpas (sacrificial posts) referred to in III. 2 indicates that the institution of sacrifice was in full swing in the time of the poet. There is a reference to the altar (Vedikā) and to the hymns of praise called Sāman which

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19 Cf. Jonarāja : लेखानां देवानां च वर्गस्य मुखं विमुद्रं चक्रे। पूर्वं पारिषदा देवकुलद्वारं परिपन्थिभयान्मृत्तिकया बबन्धुस्तेन तु परिपन्थिषु मथितेषु देवमूर्तीनां भङ्गभयव्यपगमाद्द्वाराण्युदघाटयन्। .... (P. 42, NSP. ed.)

are sung at the time of sacrifice in XX. 30. The concluding offering (Pūrṇāhuti) in a sacrifice is also referred to in XX. 46. Avabhṛtha bath after completing a sacrifice is referred to in III. 1. Maṅkha uses the word Parisamūhana (sprinkling water in a particular way round the sacrificial fire) and mentions the details of the process also in V. 6; X. 47. People used to worship three kinds of fire[20] (III. 4; XXV. 87; 99). They also used to drink Soma (III. 4; XXV. 91).

Religious Practices

People used to practise penance (III. 8). While practising penance some people used to put on a garland of skulls.[21] Moreover, they used to grow hair and employed strings of rosary beads for repeating various formulae. They used to control their breath after taking it in[22] with a view to get rid of attachment (IV. 56).

Under unusual circumstances a preceptor used to make his pupil realize final release by means of Śaktipāta or infusion of spiritual power (XXIII. 6).

Benevolent Acts

Benevolent deeds e.g. giving alms to a worthy person etc., were performed with great zeal so much so that even one's own body also was given up as alms by Bodhisattva[23] (I. 3). Many rich people used to spend their money in order to get bridges constructed over the rivers (II. 43). Giving alms to Brahmins was considered a most important factor in the religious life (III. 33). Accordingly cows were given to Brahmins as gifts with the tip of their horns adorned with gold (III. 36). Water-rooms were erected for travellers (X. 55). Rich people used to get the temples of the deities rebuilt, in case they were found in a dilapidated condition (XVI. 19). Religious-minded persons tried to spread the knowledge of the Vedas (XVI. 19). Rich people used to give grants of land to Brāhmaṇas usually to those who were the knowers of the Vedas and without any means of subsistence (XXV. 37).

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20 (i) Gārhapatya—One of the three sacred fires perpetually maintained by a householder.
(ii) Āhavanīya—One of the three scared fires taken from the householder's perpetual fire.
(iii) Dākṣiṇātya—When Gārhapatya fire is taken out of the house of the householder to burn the dead body of a person belonging to his family, it is called Dākṣiṇātya.

21 This is a clear reference to the Kāpālikas, since it is they who are used to put on a garland of skulls. For further relevant information see Dr. Bhandarkar's Śaivism Vaiṣṇavism and Minor Sects, p. 127-128.

22 This shows that the Yogic practices of breath-control (Prāṇāyāma) etc. were widely known and practised and people had faith in their efficacy to remove attachment.

23 This reference to Bodhisattva's giving up his body by way of alms shows deep influence of Buddhism in the Kāśmīr of those times.

Religious Customs

It was customary to put a sacred thread on the chest (XXIV. 27). The custom of taking a sip of water before eating is mentioned in XXIV. 13. It was customary to observe a fast on the eleventh day of a fortnight (Ekādaśī) (III. 72). A brahmin used to chant the sacred formulae near a person lying prostrate on the bed of Kuśa grass whose eyes are shut and who is about to breathe his last (VI. 32).

Priests used to sprinkle rice corn sanctified by chanting sacred formulae to avert natural calamity (XXIV. 31).

The practice of offering a female dancer who has not stretched her body for money (i.e. a virgin), and who subsists on riches, to Lord Śiva is mentioned in XXV. 139. The above practice is a typically southern one known as the institution of Devadāsī which is found to exist even up to the present day.

Bodhisattva's giving up his own body by way of alms par-excellence (Atyarthadāna) on having a worthy receiver is referred to in I. 13. Thus this Buddhist custom was put into practice by the Buddhists occasionally in those times. Moreover, there is a reference to the behaviour fit for a Sugata i.e. a Bauddha in III. 55. Similarly Amitābha (Lord Buddha), goddess Tārā and Mañjughoṣa are also referred to with great reverence in III. 54. Thus these references suggest cordial relationship existing between Buddhism and Hinduism.

Religious Beliefs

Beliefs about gods :—It was believed that the number of gods was thirty-three crores (II. 54). It was commonly believed that gods and goddesses did not wink (IX. 36; XIV. 31). People believed that the gods did not eat anything except ambrosia (XVII. 15; 17; XIX. 27).

People believed that by getting angry a man loses his austerity either partly or wholly (XX. 42). They also believed in the efficacy of the waters of the ganges to deliver the departed souls when the bones of the bodies previously occupied by them were brought into contact with them (XXII. 95). People considered the wearer of a sacred-thread i.e. a Brahmin, as not worthy of being killed (XII. 28). The setting Sun was believed to deposit its light in the fire (X. 17; XXIV. 21). There prevailed a belief in the existence of hell (VII. 41) as well as in the entrance of Kali era (III. 2). Cohabitation with a menstruating woman was condemned by the people (VI. 38).

CHAPTER XI

AGE OF MAṄKHA

Literary and poetic background :—

Unless we have got a fair idea of the age which brings to light a particular work, it is not possible to evaluate it properly. Śc. was composed by Maṅkha in the middle of the twelfth century[1] and has got almost all the features of a Vidagdha Mahākāvya or classical or ornate epic even though it could not secure a place for itself in the five Mahākāvyas of Sanskrit literature[2]. The Mahākāvis like Kālidāsa transformed the popular and heroic stories by removing the inattractive features on the one hand, and by introducing the other enchanting features favourable to their poetic requirements.[3] In Kālidāsa's poems, the narrative and descriptions go hand in hand i.e. his descriptions are intended to heighten the particular effects and are not introduced for their own sake or merely for the display of poetic talents. His poems appeal to the heart since due proportion between the matter and the manner is maintained in them. Thus the poems of Kālidāsa formed a norm or standard for later poets. They tried to compose poems under the hard and fast rules regarding the requirements of a Mahākavi which would have been deduced from the works of earlier poets like Kālidāsa and Aśvaghośa. As they were fully preoccupied in observing those rules it resulted in the predominance of form over matter. The works of Bhāravi and Māgha are instances in point. The poems of these poets, therefore, appeal more to the head than to the heart. This was in accordance with the tastes of the 'literati' of these periods. They wrote their poems to satisfy the desires of people of different tastes. The canto IX of Raghuvaṃśa makes it clear that even Kālidāsa had to satisfy a group of people who indulged in this sort of word jugglery. This tendency of putting form over matter, use of double entendre, verbal jugglery etc., became more powerful after Kālidāsa and the critics being themselves great Paṇḍits began to judge poetry from this point of view and tried to see whether all the rules and regulations as laid down by the rhetoricians were fulfilled by a poet or not. Consequently, in the works of

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1 Vide Bühler's 'Kashmir Report' published in the JBRAS 1887, P. 50.

2 For the factors which prevented this poem to secure a prominent place in the Sanskrit Mahākāvyas vide chapter XV while for the relative evaluation of its merits and demerits vide chapters XIV and XV.

3 Ānandavardhana advises to this effect :—

इतिवृत्ते यदि रसाननुगुणां स्थितिं पश्येत् तां भङ्क्त्वाऽपि स्वतन्त्रतया रसानुगुणं कथान्तरमुत्पादयेत्। न हि कवेरितिवृत्तमात्रनिर्वहणे किञ्चित् प्रयोजनम्।–ध्वन्यालोक III.

Bhāravi, Māgha and other poets including Maṅkha elaborate descriptions of political councils, seasons, water-sports etc. are found. But long ago Bhāmaha's critical acumen had already objected to this tendency of making one's poem unintelligible without the help of a lexicon, on account of the excessive use of obsolete and lexicon words utilized for the sake of double entendre and other poetic feats. Bhāmaha denounced this by saying that there should be a difference between a poem and a Śāstra. If a poem is to be understood like a Śāstra, with the help of a commentary, then it is a pleasure to the erudite[4] only while ordinary readers are undone. But this warning of Bhāmaha fell flat on the ears of scholars whose tastes had already changed. Bhaṭṭi's words 'Vidvatpriyatayā mayā' clearly indicate the class of erudites who welcomed such poems.

The remarks of Dr. De as regards the taste of the people and the atmosphere in which Kāvya literature thrived as found in his History of Sanskrit Literature are very pertinent. He says—"As a matter of fact, the Kāvya literature appears to have been aristocratic from the beginning, fostered under the patronage of the wealthy or in the courts of the princes. Even if it does not lack serious interest, this literature naturally reflects the graces, as well as the artificialities, of courtly life; and its exuberant fancy is quite in keeping with the taste which prevailed in this atmosphere. The court influence undoubtedly went a long way, not only in fostering a certain langour and luxuriance of style, but also in encouraging a marked preference of what catches the eye to what touches the heart."[5] Dr. De further continues—"The poets of the period suggest facility rather than inspiration, subtlety rather than judgment, immense and varied learning rather than vigour and versatility of spontaneous power."[6]

Over and above this current of the predominance of form over matter, other currents are also found in Sanskrit poetry. With Subandhu, whose desire was to compose a work with 'Pratyakṣara Śleṣa' (pun on every word) we see the rise of a tendency towards double entendre which influenced later poets like Māgha, Śrīharṣa and Maṅkha.

Bhaṭṭi's work illustrates grammatical forms in which we find the role of grammar in poetry. Its influence is obvious in peculiar grammatical forms found in Māgha, Śrīharṣa and Maṅkha.

Rhetorics, Kāmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra also played an important part in the development of Kāvya literature, consequently we find the use of various

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4 Cf. काव्यान्यपि यदीमानि व्याख्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत्।
उत्सवः सुधियामेव हन्त दुर्मेधसो हताः ॥ II.10.

5 Vide Dr. De, HSL, Vol. I, P. 19.

6 Vide Dr. De, HSL, Vol. I, P. 304.

figures, erotic descriptions of female beauties,[7] the descriptions of daily duties of kings, political discussions (Mantra) etc. in the works of Sanskrit poets and Maṅkha is no exception to it.

The influence of the Vakrokti school is also seen on Maṅkha and on Śrīharṣa. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Śāstri in his foreword[8] to the edition of Naishadha Part I, edited by K. L. V. Śāstri, Palghat, says—" It is worthy of note that Śrī-Harṣa belonged to a century, which was dominated by the Vakrokti-type of poetry and in which poets of the Vakrokti-school like Maṅkhaka, the author of the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, flourished. Perhaps, for the reason that Śrī-Harṣa himself was a votary of the Vakrokti-school, his poem easily won the plaudits of the Kashmirian poets of the 12th century, as may be seen from the following extract from the 16th canto of the Naiṣadha :—

" काश्मीरैर्महिते चतुर्दशतयीं विद्यां विदद्भिर्महा-
काव्ये तद्भुवि नैषधीयचरिते सर्गोऽगमत्षोडशः ॥ " (XVI-131)

Sanskrit poets are also influenced by the Campu literature. As the earliest works of this class are not known at present, it is very difficult to trace now the influence of the Campus on Sanskrit works of other types, but it is very likely that the earlier Campus must have exercised considerable influence on the works of other types in Sanskrit Literature. M. Krishnamachariar in his ' History of classical Sanskrit Literature ' opines—" A species of composition with mixed prose and poetry came into vogue about the beginning of the Christian era. We have passages in the Purāṇas, where prose comes amidst verse, but there is no instance of classical poetry of this recognised class known earlier. A narrative in mixed prose and verse has been called Campu. This variety of composition enlarges the scope and ease of the poet's expression and entertains the reader by the presentation of combinative of varying melodies. Bāṇa mentions Haricandra as a writer in prose, but it is doubtful if the work Bāṇa had in mind is Jivandhara Campu. The earliest works of this class are not known, but after the 10th century A.D. Campus became very popular and they were largely composed in South India."[9]

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7 Maṅkha has given this kind of a top-to-toe description of the physical charms of a female character in sts. 42-50 of canto XI in his poem. In canto VIII, sts. 6 to 88 of Vikramāṅkadevacarita, poet Bilhaṇa has supplied a vivid description of Candralekhā's beauty. This description is in the reverse order *i.e.* it is from the foot to the hair. In this respect, Maṅkha is influenced by Bilhaṇa for whose mature style (प्रौढि) he had great respect (XXV. 79).

8 Vide Śrī Harṣa's Naishadha with the commentary of Mallinātha, Part I (Sargas I-VI), edited by Pandit K. L. V. Sastri, Third edition, 1930, Palghat with a foreword by MM. Vidyavacaspati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri P. 9.

9 Vide M. Krishnamachariar, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Madras, 1937, P. 496.

As shown above such poems were not meant for the masses but for a special class of learned persons to whom they were at once intelligible. Moreover, poets like Maṅkha [10] and Śrīharṣa tried to satisfy the wants of such classes. Thus, what was difficult to many, was brain-tonic to some. To quote the opinion of Ravindranāth Tagore who has rightly pointed out that " Artists and connoisseurs build their towers on the summit plateaus of art. It is idle to hope that all and sundry will climb up there easily. It is because multicoloured and multi-savoured clouds confer there on the heights, that the plains get the benefit of their fertilising showers. It is only in this way that the commonalty joins hands with the rare spirits which cannot be achieved if you dwarf the heights, so that these may always mate with the plains. Those who are creators of Rasa could only take orders from all on penalty of shipwreck. They can take orders from none other than the supreme Resident of the heart, and once this is done, when they succeed in fashioning things of beauty for all times, then these must come authentically within the right of enjoyment of all. To say that all have this right is not to say that all can profit by it ; here and now good things are not so cheap as all that .....If you respect the masses and go on supplying them with things of quality then by and by, their minds grow more and more sensitive to the quality. Let us appeal to the poet :—" May you give us only of your very best without an afterthought " and to the public :—' May you learn to accept what is of the very best '. Those who are artists and creators of Rasa can only own to two distinctions :—authentic or counterfeit, good or bad ; they do not distinguish between the elite's food and the rabble's.... Affection is reprehensible everywhere, but to contend that whatever is easily comprehensible to all, is unaffected and what only appeals to cultivated sensibility is the reverse, is to argue like a sophist [11]... "

It is not proper, therefore, to call such an age of Sanskrit poetry as an age of decadence of poetry. On the contrary, it is in the fitness of the things to call this an age of learning.

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10 Cf. XXV. 14-16 and 143-150.

11 Ravindranāth Tagore's letter to Dilipkumār Roy as given in his book, " The Subhash I knew ", pp. 221 ff.

CHAPTER XII

LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF MAṄKHA

I Language

It is idle to expect lucid and natural language of Kālidāsa from Maṅkha, the author of a lexicon like Anekārthakośa. The reason is twofold viz. the author's being a repository of traditional Sanskrit learning and his being a product of an age of learning also as seen in the previous chapter.

As a result, Maṅkha's language has become difficult in many places and at times unintelligible without the help of a lexicon, or a commentary. His thorough acquaintance with the lexicographic literature is testified to by his use of rare and obsolete words. [1]

Occasionally, double entendre[2] becomes a characteristic feature of his language, as also play upon words.[3] Moreover, his erudition has substantially contributed to enrich his language on account of the use of some technical terms.[4]

Certain idiomatic expressions [5] are also met with in Maṅkha's language, some of which are still current in modern Indian languages. The growing influence of the Indian languages on his diction also can be clearly seen from his use of words like Dhoraṇī (III. 26; XII. 50; 95; XIV. 2; XVIII. 30), ṭhakena[6] (VI. 33); Āndolitānāṃ[7] (XII. 52), Preṅkholan[8] (I.47), Gharaṭṭa (VI. 63)[9] etc. from the popular language.

The poet's deep knowledge of grammar also helps him in using uncommon words such as Ucculumpyatām XII. 35; XVII. 55; and Raraṅga XII. 6.[10]

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1 For a list of difficult and obsolete words, vide Appendix 4.

2 Cf. II. 68; IV. 6; XVI. 35 etc.

3 Cf. Raraṅga niṣaṅgaḥ in XII.6; also bhujaṃgaḥ and Kuraṅgaḥ in XII. 74 etc.

4 Cf. Puruṣāyita (XIII. 20; XV. 35; 38; 39 etc.); Aritra (XXV. 125); Bhinnaṣaḍja (XVI. 1) etc.

5 e.g. Tṛṇāya mene (VI. 41); Katareṇa jeṣyasi (XII. 20); Antare kṛtvā (XIX. 16) etc. The first two of these are common to-day in Gujarātī language. For a complete list vide Appendix 5.

6 Cf. 'ṭhaga' iti deśabhāṣā prasiddhena vañcakaviśeṣeṇa—footnote P. 81 (NSP. ed).

7 Cf. 'Āndolidhātur laukikaḥ'—Jonarāja P. 172 (NSP. ed.).

8 Cf. 'teṣu preṅkholatirlaukikaḥ mahākavibhiḥ prayuktatvāt'—Jonarāja, P. 12 (NSP.ed).

9 Cf. The Gujarātī word 'ghaṇṭī' with Gharaṭṭa.

10 For a complete list of Peculiar grammatical forms vide Appendix 5.

Thus Maṅkha's language gives a colloquial tinge to his poetry at the same time it enriches the Sanskrit vocabulary. It is indeed a valuable contribution.

II Style

Maṅkha's literary style is Vaidarbhī.[11] Since Maṅkha is a product of an age of learning, his Vaidarbhī differs from that of Kālidāsa. However, poetic skill (Śakti) and erudition (Vyutpatti) are found in the Śc. which two elements constitute the make up of a genuine poet. As a result the poet justly deserves to be called a 'kavi-paṇḍita.' Thus the parade of his erudition deprives his Vaidarbhī style of the grace of Kāḷidāsa's style. However, some of his passages can easily vie with Kālidāsa's best[12].

One of the main features of Maṅkha's style is the use of alliterations and rhymes. Many stanzas have their share of these two figures. The poet has made use of alliteration freely. Some examples of it are II. 46 ; III. 31 ; 42 ; IV. 59; VI. 73 ; VII. 66 ; X. 1 ; XIII. 1 ; 49 ; XXIII. 43 ; XXV. 25. For the examples of rhyme in Śc. vide. XII 75-86 ; XIX. 16 ; XXIII. 43 ; XXIV. 43.

Another important feature of his style is met with in his fair use of *double entendre*. Some of his stanzas yield two meanings. Maṅkha's wonderful command over Sanskrit vocabulary, grammar and language helps him in expressing himself in a punning manner e.g. II. 6 ; III. 23 ; 31 ; 68 ; IV. 6. ; 8 ; 9 ; XVI. 34 ; 35 ; XXIII. 25 ; 28.

Another figure, frequently employed by our poet is Paryāyokta or circumlocution. In the times of the poet, people liked the ideas expressed in a round about manner e.g.......... *Puṣṇāti te śriyamasāvudarapradeśaḥ*

kārśyakramāvajitavajratayārjitasya......(XI. 47)

(this your belly looks pretty since it has conquered an adament in respect of slenderness......) also

ete karā himakarasya calācalākṣi
lākṣājuṣoścaraṇayostava saṃstavena
janmānavāptacarafullasahasrapattra–
sauhārdasaukhyaghaṭanāṃ ciramāpnuvantu (XI. 50)

(O you with tremulous eyes, these rays of the moon may attain for long the pleasure of the friendship of the full-blown lotus which they did not attain since their coming into existence by their acquaintance with thy feet smeared with red lac.) The intention of the poet is to state that the feet of the lady were similar to the full blown-lotus. Other examples are II. 25 ; IV. 62 ; VIII. 30 ; 51 ; IX. 38 ; XVII. 64 ; 65 etc. Kuntala, the author of Vakrokti-

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11 Vaidarbhī style is defined by Viśvanātha as follows :

माधुर्यव्यञ्जकैर्वर्णैं रचना ललितात्मिका ॥ २ ॥
अवृत्तिरल्पवृत्तिर्वा वैदर्भी रीतिरिष्यते । सा. द. ९.२-३.

12 Cf. II. 1; III. 21; 40-44; 46; 77; IV. 13; 37-42; V. 1; VI. 1; XVI. 59 etc.

jīvita, calls such expressions Paryāyavakrokti. Moreover, according to the statement of the poet himself made in II. 47, he is under the influence of the Vakrokti school.

The above features have contributed substantially in lessening the degree of Prasāda (perspicuity) guṇa in the Śc. However, there is enough of Prasāda guṇa in the poem and some of the stanzas can rival with even those of Kālidāsa e.g.
Kuberasakhyāḥ kakubho lalāṭikā yadeti kaśmīrapadābhidheyatām|
Satīsaro nāma tadasti maṇḍalaṃ nisargasargāvabhṛthaḥ prajāpateḥ|| (III. 1) also XIII. 2 ; XXV. 1-16 etc. Another important quality is the existence of Ojas (vigour) a guṇa which is as prominent as even Prasāda or Mādhurya in this poem.

The sense is at times suggested by the use of onomatopoeic words e.g. Zañzā in XVII. 47 and Ṭasatkāra in XXIV. 18.

The next important figure is Utprekṣā[13] which exhibits various characteristics of Maṅkha's fancy. This figure is found in abundance in this poem. Most of his Utprekṣās are original (cf. IV. 37-42; XVI. 59). Sometimes they are fine (I. 5; 8-10; 29; 33; II.18; III. 3; 16; IV. 37-42; 61; VI. 3; 6; 27; 28; 43; 53; 63; 66; 68; XI. 42; XXIV. 41) while at times artificial and studied (VII. 5; 7; 8; 32; VIII. 19; 31; IX. 19; XII. 60 etc.), being based on play upon words (VII. 20, 30 etc.). Grand and majestic fancy is illustrated in I. 52-54; III. 13. Thus the title 'Utprekṣākavi' can be safely conferred upon Maṅkha.

Next important figure is Upamā (VIII. 37; XXV. 15; 56 etc.) some of which are apt similes (XXV. 46; 51) while some original (XXV. 10 etc.). Similarly the figure Rūpaka or metaphor is also found in VI. 74; VII. 9; 11; 18; 24; 28; 37; 38; 41; VIII. 18 ; XXIV. 20; XXV. 34 etc.

Other figures of speech employed by Maṅkha are Atiśayokti or hyperbole (I. 20; 53; VII. 6; 48; VIII. 23; XI. 10; XIII. 10; XV. 43; XXII. 36); Arthāntaranyāsa (XXI. 3); Apahnuti (VII. 16); Samāsokti (VII. 19; VIII. 53; IX. 31; XIV. 10; 68); Pariṇāma (I. 22); Bhrāntimān (XIX. 55; XXIII. 42); Asaṅgati (VIII. 35; XX. 6); Nidarśanā (VIII. 43); Sandeha (XI. 11); Arthāpatti (XII. 15); Mīlita (XIII. 34; XXI. 18); Sāmānya (VIII. 26; 32; X. 14); Vyatireka (I. 56; VII. 12); Viṣama (VII. 3; VIII. 36; X. 24; XI. 39; 54; XX. 9; 13; 50); Vyāghāta (VIII. 10; XI. 63); Virodha (VIII. 20; 29; XII. 8; 71; XX. 26); Vibhāvanā (I. 2; VI. 29); Samatā[14] (VII. 20); Pratiprasava[15] (XVII. 7).

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13 The instances are too numerous to be quoted. However, note the following : VII. 33 ; 34 ; VIII. 5 ; 17 ; IX. 2 ; 6 ; X. 3 ; 5 ; XI. 4 ; 14 ; XII. 11 ; 28 ; XIII. 3 ; 13 ; XIV. 2 ; 3 ; XV. 3 ; 13 ; XVI. 24 ; XVIII. 23 ; XX. 57 ; XXI. 10 ; 11 ; XXII. 3 ; 4 ; XXIII. 2 ; 7 ; XXIV. 8 ; 14 ; XXV. 22 ; 28 etc.

14 According to the commentator Jonarāja.

15 According to the commentator Jonarāja.

At times Maṅkha's style becomes easy and perspicuous not only when delineating speeches e.g. in XIX, but also while describing things e.g. in IV; XXIV etc. Maṅkha is also adept in giving good word pictures e.g. III. 40-44 ; IV. 37-42 ; VIII. 55 ; XVI. 59 ; XIX. 47 etc.

Other noteworthy characteristics of his style are his frequent use of passive aorist forms (cf. XII. 7 ; 49 ; XIII. 8 ; 49 ; XIV. 16 ; 40 ; XV. 24 ; XVII. 25) and impersonal construction (Bhāve prayoga) (VII. 17 ; VIII. 2 ; XVIII. 40). At times the poet uses unusually long compounds (VII. 43 ; XVI. 50 ; 53 ; 58 ; XVII. 1-4 ; 6). Moreover, the use of passive construction is in abundance in the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita (VIII. 1 ; XIII. 13 ; 22 ; 49 ; XIV. 16). For the sake of effect the poet has employed kāku (III. 68 ; VI. 3 ; XI. 67 ; XII. 96 ; XIV. 8 ; XV. 41 ; 43).

Maṅkha refers to Citrabandha 'tourse de force' in I. 24 and appreciates the skill of a poet who can combine it with Prasādaguṇa in his poem (I. 24). But according to him Citrabandha alone is a useless feature by itself in a poem (II. 42) and he has wisely refrained from using it in his poem. In this respect and in almost all others mentioned above his diction resembles in a striking manner to that of the poet, Śrīharṣa who composed the Naiṣadhīyacarita in the middle of the twelfth century.

Thus in some places Maṅkha's style shares the characteristics of the Gauḍī style being artificial and full of figures as also full of compounds in many places e.g. cantos XVIII-XXII. In these cantos especially the harsh consonants are found in abundance which suit the things described very nicely. In the remaining major portion of the work his style can be described as vigorous Vaidarbhī to distinguish it from the graceful Vaidarbhī of Kālidāsa. It is a remarkable coincidence that Śrīharṣa's style also belongs to the same category.

CHAPTER XIII

CHARACTERISATION

The importance of the art of characterisation to a poet is not much less than what it is to a dramatist. Excepting certain restrictions imposed by the loyalty to conventionality the poet has tried to breathe life into the characters with limited success.

Śiva

He is represented by the Poet as a true overlord of the gods who is their saviour from all miseries. He usually gets up in the early morning on hearing the panegyric of the bards (XVI. 57). It is customary with Him to attend His court after performing the Sandhyā in the morning (XVII. 2). Thus He sets an example for the kings by His own conduct. After listening to the complaint of the gods against the Tripurāsuras, He advises the gods to destroy their enemies by borrowing a part of His lustre (XIX. 26). Thereupon the gods express their inability to bear His lustre and prevail upon His destroying them (XIX. 29-30). Then Śiva agrees to render active help to the gods in destroying the Tripurāsuras (XIX. 41). He reads the minds of the gods correctly when on the battle-field they throw their timid and beseaching glances towards Him at the time of the coming together of the three cities (XXIV. 6). Then He discharges the arrow which burns the Tripuras (XXIV. 10-11). After the destruction of the Tripuras, Lord Śiva gives up His terrific form and assumes His normal blissful form in the manner of the saints (XXIV. 38). Then Lord Śiva dismisses the gods with His eye full of affection (XXIV. 44).

In keeping with the rules of the science of rhetorics, Śiva can be classed as a hero who is Dhīrodātta[1] i.e. brave and noble minded. On the ground of His behaviour towards His wife and the heroine Pārvatī, He can be called an Anukūla[2] Nāyaka. He possesses all the qualities[3] of a Sāttvika hero.

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1 Cf. अविकत्थनः क्षमावानतिगम्भीरो महासत्त्वः ।
स्थेयान्निगूढमानो धीरोदात्तो दृढव्रतः कथितः ॥ साहित्यदर्पण, ३.३२.

2 Cf. अनुकूल एकनिरतः.........साहित्यदर्पण, ३.३७.

3 Cf. शोभा विलासो माधुर्यं गाम्भीर्यं धैर्यतेजसी ।
ललितौदार्यमित्यष्टौ सत्त्वजाः पौरुषा गुणाः ॥ साहित्यदर्पण, ३.५०.

Pārvatī

The role of the heroine in this poem is not as prominent as it is normally found in other works. Here the heroine plays merely a second fiddle to the hero. Thus Her role has become superfluous. It is largely due to closely following of the original theme by the poet. Turning to the characterisation of the heroine we find the following features.

Pārvatī, the heroine, was the daughter of Dakṣa in Her former birth (IV. 54). She also has serpents on Her matted hair like Her male counterpart (I. 20). She has a skull for Her pot for drinking (I. 20). She has a lion for Her vehicle (I. 18; 47; IV. 54; V. 50). At the time of evening twilight goddess Pārvatī (Caṇḍikā) dances (I. 19). She is an obedient wife who is all the more adorned by bashfulness, an important natural ornament of a female. Over and above physical charm She possesses many a good quality which endear Her to Śiva (VII. 61). Her breath is fragrant to such an extent that the bees quit the grove of lotuses situated in the Ganges and gather together around Her (VII. 57). Her limbs shine like the cutting of gold (VII. 62). Her physique looks like an ocean of beauty (VII. 63). The moon is defeated by the beauty of Her face (VII. 64). In compliance with the command of Her lord She swings (VII. 62-66). According to the rules of rhetorics she can be classed as स्वा one's own legitimate wife. From the point of view of Her age She is Madhyā[4] while on the basis of the mutual behaviour of Herself and Her spouse she can be described as Svādhīnabhartṛkā.[5]

Brahmā

The role of Brahmā has remained as prominent as it is found depicted in Purāṇas (especially Śiva purāṇa) on which the poet has depended. But this story as narrated in the Karṇaparvan of the Mbh. emphasizes the prominence of Brahmā by presenting as more important the role of the charioteer than that of the fighter riding the chariot. The poet has however continued to emphasize the importance of the role of Śiva and has rightly given a next place to the role of Brahmā. The eyes of Brahmā which usually remained steady on account of meditation did not appear steady even though they were really so because of their familiarity with anxiety consequent on the oppression of the Tripurāsuras (XVII. 37). It was Brahmā who led the gods to Śiva and informed Lord Śiva about the oppression of the gods by the Tripurāsuras when Śiva sought to know

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4 Cf. मध्या विचित्रसुरता प्ररूढस्मरयौवना ।
ईषत्प्रगल्भवचना मध्यमव्रीडिता मता ॥ साहित्यदर्पण ३.५९.

5 Cf. कान्तो रतिगुणाकृष्टो न जहाति यदन्तिकम् ।
विचित्रविभ्रमासक्ता सा स्यात्स्वाधीनभर्तृका ॥ साहित्यदर्पण ३.७४.

the reason of their agony (XVII. 46-47). According to Him the Tripurāsuras practised severe penance to win over His favour (XVII. 48). Then Brahmā appeared before them without any trickery (XVII. 49-50) and asked them to let Him know their desired objective (XVII. 51-52) without doubting its fulfilment. This shows the straight-forward nature of Brahmā which stands in sharp contrast with the crooked nature of Viṣṇu. Thereupon they demanded immortality as a boon from Him (XVII. 54). Brahmā adduced that it was not possible for anybody to grant such a boon and advised them to choose another boon (XVII. 55). Then they demanded the boon that one and the same arrow discharged by the enemy may be the cause of their simultaneous death (XVII. 56). Having obtained that boon from Brahmā they tried to baffle the intellect of Yama by trickery by obstructing the three worlds individually (XVII. 57). Maya, the architect of the demons, constructed three cities made up of gold, silver and iron after having known their intention (XVII. 58). Tārakākṣa, Kamalākṣa and Vidyunmālī mounted them respectively (XVII. 59-61). Then Brahmā described the brutal oppression of all the three worlds by the Tripurāsuras (XVII. 62-66). Afterwards Brahmā accepted the work of the charioteer of Lord Śiva (XX. 61) who had started to attack the Tripuras.

Viṣṇu

Viṣṇu's role in this poem is not at all as prominent as it is in the original sources where He attains so much importance as to create the impression of a rival hero. This subordination of His role testifies to the sense of proportion and balance on the part of the poet in keeping with which the role of every other character except the hero should be less important.

Skanda

He is the (first) son of Śiva (XVI. 36). He was born secondarily from fire and so was known as Agnijanman (XVIII. 47; 48; XXIII. 21; 24; 28). He was primarily born in Śaravaṇa[6] (XXIII. 21). He has got six heads and consequently twelve eyes (XVI. 36). His another name is Kumāra, also Viśākha (I. 42) as well as Guha (IV. 8). He is famous as an enemy of Tāraka (IV. 51; 54). His uprooting Tāraka[7] is mentioned in XVI. 35; 36. Skanda's vehicle is a peacock (I. 41-42; IV. 33; 51; XXI. 5; 16; XXIII. 24).

Gaṇapati

He is one of the two sons of Śiva (XVII. 13). He has got the face of an elephant (I. 38-40; XXI. 6; 9). His elephant face has got one tusk only (XXIII. 13). He was riding a lion while fighting with the Tripurāsuras (XXIII. 14) as mentioned in this poem.

6 Cf. Br. IV. 30.83.

7 Cf. SKP. I. i. 30.39.

Nandī

Nandī appears to be the right-hand of Lord Śiva since he is stated to have made some announcement to the assembly of gods in a slighting manner (XVII. 14). The manner in which he entreats Śiva to allow Pārvatī to mount a swing shows his thorough acquaintance with the duty of a servant (VII. 45-53). He is the son of Śilāda (XVIII.51).

Vijayā

She is a fast friend of Pārvatī who accompanies Her everywhere and for all times. She fans Pārvatī to remove Her fatigue as befits a true friend (VIII. 6).

Agni

He is the husband of Svāhā (XVI. 37). He is found in the third eye of Śiva in His forehead (I. 5; V. 31). Parrots are yoked to his chariot (X. 17). Agni bears the light of the Sun at the time of Sun-set and thereafter up to next Sun-rise (X. 17). Agni assumed the form of an arrow of Śiva when he attacked the Tripurāsuras (XX. 44).

Aṅgiras

He is the father of Bṛhaspati the priest of gods (XVI. 47). He, the chief of sages, protected another wheel of Śiva's chariot (XX. 34).

Candra

Candra was born from the tears of joy of the sage Atri (XI. 70). He is believed to be the first progenitor of the race of Kṣatriyas (XIV. 61). He is considered to be the husband of the twenty-seven lunar mansions, the daughters of Dakṣa, the Lord of created beings (XI. 41; XII. 37). His friendship with cupid is a legendary one (V. 41; XI. 63). He forms the left eye of Śiva (IV. 61; V. 25). The crescent moon is worn by Śiva as a crown (I. 1; 5; V. 22; 26; 28; 30; X. 52; XI. 56). He is the lord of vegetable kingdom (IV. 46; V. 53; X. 35). Rāhu eclipses him (V. 28; XI. 56). He formed one of the wheels of Śiva's chariot at the time of the Tripura war (XX. 13). He also formed one part of an arrow of Śiva at that time (XX. 49).

Indra

He possesses thousand eyes (IV. 20; XVII. 39). He is the king of the gods (XVI. 29). He had smitten the mountains with a thunderbolt hence he is called Adribhid (I. 56). The elephant Airāvata is his vehicle (XIX. 20). The horse uccaiḥśravas is his another vehicle (XX. 20). He is called Purandara also (XVI. 27). He assumed the form of a horse and was yoked to the chariot of Śiva (XX. 20).

Kubera

He is the lord of the northern direction (III. 1). He possesses immense wealth (IV. 1; XVI. 40) and so he is considered the lord of riches. He possesses

the aerial car called Puṣpaka (XVI. 41). He is the lord of the Kimpuruṣas also called Kinnaras who are semi-human beings (XX. 21). Like Indra he took the form of a horse and was yoked to Śiva's chariot (XX. 21).

Sun

He is the lord of the lights (tviṣāṃ parivṛḍhaḥ) (XVI. 13). He is an emperor of the planets (cakravartī grahāṇām) (XVI. 9). Aruṇa who is without thighs is the charioteer of the Sun (XX. 26). He is worshipped by the offering of an ' Argha ' even by the gods at the time of evening twilight (X. 18). He forms one of the eyes of Śiva (IV. 61; V. 25; XVII. 16). The Sun served as one of the wheels of Śiva's chariot in the Tripura fight (XX. 13).

Varuṇa

He is the lord of waters (XVI. 45; 46). Hence he is called Apampati (XX. 22). His another name is Pracetas (XVI. 45). The western quarter is his favourite quarter (XVI. 45; XVII. 43). He became one of the horses yoked to Śiva's chariot (XX. 22).

Yama

He is the son of the Sun (VII. 32; XII. 32; XVI. 42; XXII. 21;25; 39). He wields a cudgel in his hand (XVI. 42; XIX. 20). He also holds the fetters made up of serpents (VII. 32; XXII. 3; 5; 23; 54; XXIII. 2; 29). Buffalo is his vehicle (XX. 20; XXI. 42; XXII. 19; 30). He devours living beings by his mouth (XXIII. 32; 33). He transformed himself as a horse yoked to the chariot of Śiva (XX. 20).

Kāma

He is well-known as Manasija (a mind-born one) (V. 49 ; XI. 64; XIV. 39; XV. 2). He is also called Anaṅga (VI. 1). He is an expert in the employment of the six measures of royal policy (VI. 4). A bee whose appearance is dark and who is addicted to drinking Madhu (honey) and enjoying the blooming creepers is made a priest by Caitra in the realm of cupid (VI. 38). The wind from the Malaya mountain is his first body-guard (VI. 42). He is the husband of Rati (V. 52; 55; VII. 1; 3; XI. 44; XII. 12; XIV. 13). His bow is made up of flowers so he is called Kusumadhanvan (V. 54 ; XV. 6). His arrows are the flowers (X. 51; XIV. 33; 68; XV. 2). Pañcaśara (I. 43), Ketakaśara (XI. 35), and Mīnāṅka are his other names. He is the first striker of Śiva (I. 43). The moon and the spring season are his friends. Women are his missiles (XII. 20). Once he could create passion in the mind of even Brahmā by making Him a target of his arrows [8]. He equipped himself with all his paraphernalia to conquer the three worlds (XII. 1-12). He disregards the wise

8 MP. IV. 3-20 ; Kālikāpurāṇa III. 1-4.

entreaty of his spouse Rati and shows himself to be a high-souled person (XII. 24).

Rati

She is famous as the spouse of Kāma. She is a paragon of beauty. Decorating her beauty par-excellence are her intelligence and faithfulness to Kāma. This becomes clear from her efforts to persuade Kāma to desist from attacking self-controlled persons. The arguments advanced by her are teeming with wisdom and courtesy (XII. 13-24). But her advice falls flat on the ears of Kāma.

The above two characters of Kāma and Rati have, however, no direct relation with the plot of the story still they are delineated with exquisite care and so they have become impressive.

Tripurāsuras

They were three brothers who were the progeny of Diti i.e. Daiteyas or Daityas and were irresistible (XVII. 47). They were the enemies of the three worlds (XVIII. 47). They practised severe penance to appease Brahmā so much so that they surpassed the heavenly sages (XVII. 48). Then Brahmā appeared before them and asked them to choose their desired boon and to desist from their austerities (XVII. 51). Then they asked for immortality (XVII. 54). When Brahmā adduced that it was not possible for anyone to grant such a boon and asked them to choose another boon (XVII. 55) they demanded that one and the same arrow discharged by the enemy should cause their simultaneous death (XVII. 56). Having obtained that boon from Brahmā they began to oppress the three worlds individually thus not allowing themselves to become the target of a single arrow to baffle the intellect of the god of death (XVII. 57). This shows their readywittedness as well as treacherous nature. Having known their intention, Maya, the architect of the demons, created three cities made up of gold, silver and iron in each one of the three worlds (XVII. 58). Tārakākṣa made his abode the city of gold situated in heaven (XVII.59) while Kamalākṣa made the place of his residence the city made up of silver which was situated in the atmosphere (XVII. 60). Vidyunmālin remained in the city made up of iron in the mortal world (XVII. 61). Then they began to oppress the three worlds individually and continued to do so for hundreds of ten-thousand (abdaśatāyatāni) divine years (XVII. 62). This shows their malevolent spirit. Thus they proved themselves to be the arch villains who would stop oppressing the three worlds only after their complete annihilation. But the poet has not forgotten to give a humanizing touch to their characters. He has been able to accomplish this by representing that the Tripurās gathered together out of their wrath to conquer their enemy by a joint attack forgetting that they were thus exposing

themselves to their doom because of their madness consequent on anger (XXIII. 49).

Over and above these characters there are many others also who are not developed at all and are nothing more than mere names. They are Vīrabhadra (XXI. 2); Puṣpadanta (XVIII. 43); Bhṛṅgiriṭi (whose body consists of bones only) (XVIII. 44; XXIII. 18); Taṇḍu (XVIII. 50) as also a troop of Śiva called Mahākāla (XXI. 4).

CHAPTER XIV

LITERARY ESTIMATE OF THE POEM

Theme

Maṅkha selects for his poem a heroic story of the Tripuradahana by Lord Śiva which is found in some Purāṇas like Śiva, Matsya etc. as well as in the Mbh. Tripurāsuras who were the three sons of the demon Tāraka, slain by Skanda, practised severe penance and propitiated Brahmā. They demanded immortality as a boon but Brahmā told them that nobody was quite competent to grant such a boon and advised them to choose another. Thereupon they demanded that one and the same arrow discharged by the enemy in the battle might cause their simultaneous death. The boon was granted. Then in order to escape they began to oppress the three worlds individually not exposing themselves to the position of being the target of a single arrow. Maya, the architect of the demons, knew their intention and constructed three cities made up of gold, silver and iron in the heaven, in the atmospheric regions and on the earth respectively. Thus they became invincible. They oppressed the three worlds for hundreds of ten thousands of divine years. The gods led by Brahmā complained to Lord Śiva and requested Him to finish them. A chariot was prepared by the gods from different things of the universe along with Brahmā as the charioteer. Viṣṇu, Soma and Agni jointly formed the arrow of Śiva. The Mountain Mandara became His bow and the serpent Vāsuki the bow-string. Indra, Varuṇa, Kubera and Yama became the steeds yoked to His chariot. Śiva rode the chariot and attacked the Tripurās. In the battle, the Tripurās were burnt by the arrow of Śiva. The theme of the story comes to an end here. But one more canto viz. the twenty-fifth is appended to this poem which describes the assembly of scholars who had gathered together at the house of Alaṅkara (a minister for war and peace and a brother of the poet) to judge the worth of this poem which was recited there. According to Dr. Bühler [1] this is a very interesting canto which supplies us with some historical information regarding the equipment and proficiency in various branches of knowledge of about thirty different scholars who had assembled there.

Purpose

One outstanding merit of the poet is this that unlike other poets and authors he has not kept us in the dark about the purpose behind the composition

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1 'It is composed so strictly according to the norm of the Kāvyaśāstra and offers.. so few new points of interest, that but for its 25th Canto, which is altogether unique in Sanskrit literature, it would deserve little attention.' Kashmir Report JBRAS, 1877, p. 50.

of the poem. We have not to do any guess-work to find out the purpose since the poet has mentioned it in this poem. According to him his sole purpose was to serve as a bard of Lord Śiva who was respected by prostration by Indra (Adribhid) (I. 56) contrarywise to other poets who glorified the deeds of kings (XXV. 8). This idea of the poet was further corroborated by the command of his deceased father who appeared before him in the form of Harihara when he dreamt a dream on one (ekādaśī) night (III.72-75). Having obtained the encouragement by the words of his (dead) father the poet began to compose this work with the increase of devotion in his mind (III. 78). The same spirit breathes forth from the words of the poet uttered on the occasion of the completion of this poem (XXV. 1-9 ; 152). Thus we can see that the poet had before him a very high and noble purpose in writing this poem which he classes under a eulogy of Lord Śiva.

Treatment

Maṅkha has treated the original story in an artistic manner in keeping with the requirements of an ornate epic. As regards the artificiality involved in the treatment of this type, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's opinion is worth considering. He states—" There is artificiality. Art is what is artificial (made into art). A poet and an artist select and arrange what are found in Nature, and in that way, Nature becomes art. Art which is artificial, must be expressed in artificial language if that is to be poetic art. And such artificiality is also found in plenty in the Grand Epics, sometimes even with a vengeance. In a painting, there are introduced some floral and other designs that do not form an integral part of the picture, but form only the right setting for the presentation of the art. In dancing, besides dances that stir up certain emotions, there are found introduced postures of a very unnatural, artificial nature which the spectators admire and enjoy. In music also, the artist exhibits his skill in manipulating the notes and in handling the instruments, which exhibitions do not evoke any emotional stir in the hearer but which evoke some sort of wonder and admiration in the hearer. Similarly in the Grand Epic also there is introduced some exhibition of skill in handling the language. They are usually found in the middle of the epic.

I have already referred to some type of alliteration called the Yamaka, where three or more syllables are repeated. Various other devices are resorted to in poetry by poets to bring about the right setting for the presentation of the poetic art ; they are not integral parts of the poetry, they are only border decorations. Besides various metres coming in one after the other in the same canto, which is not the feature in the epics generally, the letters forming the verse are sometimes capable of being arranged in some figures, like the figures of a chariot or a wheel or a lotus. Sometimes there is only one letter in the whole verse. All such artifices add to the total effect of the epic on the reader. The poem is

to be recited and not to be looked into from a printed page. Such a manipulation of sounds in a verse creates a special effect on the listeners. The listeners enjoy such manipulations. It is a part of art. If we say that art shall be so and so, art ceases to be art. There is nothing that cannot form a part of art; the only question is whether a thing has been presented as art in a setting suitable to the art. This is what is found in the artificiality of the Grand Epics".[2] For the sake of rendering artistic treatment to the poem the poet has introduced some novel features which are as follows :—

Elaboration

The elaboration of the theme is a novel feature of this poem. The original story in the Śatapatha and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇas is in a germinical form while it is narrated at some length in the Mbh. (Karṇaparvan) covering only about 120 stanzas. However, the story appears in an elaborate form in Matsya and Śiva Purāṇas occupying 12 Adhyāyas and 10 Adhyāyas respectively. In this poem the actual story occupies ten cantos viz. IV, V, XVII-XXIV. Thus the length of the genuine story in this poem at least nearly equals that of it in the above two purāṇas.

Absence of Bandhas

In Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīyam we come across artificial Bandhas such as Gomūtrikābandha, sarvatobhadrabandha and similar feats. The Citrakāvyas or 'tourse de force' stanzas are found in Kirātārjunīyam (XV), Śiśupālavadha (XIX) and Haravijaya (XLIII and XLVIII). But such wizardry of words, though bespeaking high equipments of the poet, is detrimental to the Rasa – the soul of Poetry and hence Maṅkha deliberately avoids them. He however refers to the Citrabandha in I. 24 but dismisses it as useless along with other such artificial devices in a poem (II. 42). Such Bandhas are consequently conspicuous by their absence in the Śc. Similarly Śrīharṣa also avoided them in his Naiṣadhīyacaritam. Thus these two poets viz. Śrīharṣa and Maṅkha were the pioneers in forming a healthy convention in ousting completely the old custom of indulging in Bandhas which had grown out of all proportions.

Humour

Maṅkha had a natural gift for both wit and humour. The humour found in the speech full of admonition of a lady go-between by a female character in XII.87-92 is full of satire. But a very fine illustration of humour of situation is to be found in the statements of the poet in XX.20 describing the glances of Uccaiḥśravas and a buffalo (Yama's vehicle) towards Indra and Yama yoked to Śiva's chariot in the form of horses. The sight of Uccaiḥśravas was significant and that of the buffalo was full of anger. Similarly the female Kinnaras threw

2 Vide Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Survey of Sanskrit Literature, Bombay, 1962, pp. 153-54.

the side-long glances towards Kubera who had assumed the form of a horse yoked to Śiva's chariot (XX. 21). Thus, humour is occasionally found in the Śc. but the emphasis is on Vīra or heroic principally and on Śṛṅgāra, Bhakti and Śānta secondarily.

Psychological insight

Maṅkha assigns a specific reason as to why the Tripuras gathered together which reason is quite different from that which is found in the Purāṇas and in the Mbh. According to him the Tripuras gathered together out of their wrath to conquer their enemy by a joint attack. Since they were mad with anger, they forgot that they were exposing themselves to their death by becoming a target of a single arrow. Thus the poet has been able to bring out and depict the mental reactions of the demons of the Tripuras in true colours. Not only that but the reason assigned by the poet accounts very well for their forgetting the fear of their death by exposing themselves to the situation of being a target of a single arrow. Over and above that Maṅkha has been able to satisfy his readers by the cogency of his reason which testifies to his genius as well as psychological insight (XXIII. 49). The poet's insight in psychology can be ascertained from the lyrical reproaches of the love-lorn celestial damsels to the moon (XI. 52-62) and from the rebuke of a lady go-between by a celestial damsel in XII. 87-93 as also from the advice of Rati to Kāma contained in stanzas 13-24 of canto XII.

Description of Nature

Maṅkha is an expert in personifying nature and in investing Her with human feelings (IX. 51 ; 54 ; X. 11 ; XVI. 59).

So far we have examined certain novel features of this poem which are generally not found in other poems. There are some other noteworthy features of this poem which are also to be found in other poems since all these poems were written in strict conformity with the rules laid down by the rhetoricians.

An ardent follower of the Kāvyalakṣaṇas

Some poets who succeeded Kālidāsa, especially Bhāravi and Māgha wrote their poems in strict conformity with the rigid rules laid down by the rhetoricians[3]. Consequently they used to introduce the description of the seasons, mountains, flower-plucking, water-sports, wine-drinking, amorous sports etc. whether they were required by the context or not. Maṅkha was not an exception to this. Almost all the elements mentioned above are to be found in the Śc. In this respect Maṅkha stands in sharp contrast to Śrīharṣa who was not a slave of

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3 Cf. नगरार्णवशैलर्तुचन्द्रार्कोदयवर्णनैः । उद्यानसलिलक्रीडामधुपानरतोत्सवैः ॥
विप्रलम्भैर्विवाहैश्च कुमारोदयवर्णनैः । मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणाजिनायकाभ्युदयैरपि ॥
अलङ्कृतमसंक्षिप्तरसभावनिरन्तरम् ॥ etc. काव्यादर्श, I. 16.

such rules. In this connection it will be very interesting to take note of poet's views about poetry as expressly stated by him in this poem.

Poet's views about Poetry

Poetry arises out of Śakti or genius (II. 4). The work of the great English dramatist William Shakespeare provides an instance to the point. Shakespeare, the gifted dramatist, had no formal education at all, yet he composed dramas of outstanding merit in English literature. In them, we come across a penetrating insight into the workings of the human mind, the like of which can hardly be found in the literature of other languages over the globe. Shakespeare could compose these dramas simply because he had the required genius.

On the other hand, John Milton received good formal education. He was a distinguished scholar too. The whole atmosphere of the house of Milton was infused with the love of learning. He wrote with the conscious feeling of carrying on a religious mission. He also was a poet endowed with genius. Thus it becomes quite clear that the spark of genius is an indispensable requirement in the matter of creation of works of art. The only difference is that in the case of Milton, genius was aided by formal education while in the case of Shakespeare, it was not so aided by formal education. According to Maṅkha, learning is absolutely essential to compose a poem (II. 5; 27). This statement is not universally applicable but it finds sufficient scope in the case of ornate epic poems in Sanskrit literature. Without Vyutpatti (learning) there is no grace (of expression) in speech (II. 48). But mere learning cannot bestow the secret of the speech of a poet laureate (II. 35). This observation of the poet is absolutely true. Learning helps to develop the appreciative faculty. But works of art are the outcome of genius which is a creative faculty. Genius is an innate intellectual capacity which cannot be acquired by human efforts. It is certainly desirable if genius is aided by formal education but genius does not stand in need of any aid at all. According to Maṅkha, precious meaning and good syllables contribute a good deal in the structure of a poem (II. 6). By pondering over again and again a poem becomes pure (II. 7). Purity of expression exposes a flaw (II. 9). It is Vakrokti i.e. recondite speech that lends charm or grace to speech (II. 11; 34; 47). But mere Vakrokti is of no avail (II. 14; 15). Vakrokti without Vyutpatli is useless (II. 46). The other essential qualities of speech are good metres and soft syllables (II. 13). Without the study of Lakṣaṇa (grammar) a poem cannot be composed (II. 36). Mere observance of Rīti (peculiar construction) cannot make a good poem (II. 33). According to Maṅkha, alliteration, tourse de force, rhyme and pun are not essential ingredients of a poem (II. 42). Looseness of construction, uncertainty and incapability to stand the test are the other demerits of a poem (II. 56). According to Maṅkha, kaṭhinatā isalso such a demerit (II. 50). How far the poet himself follows the statement

made by him in this stanza is a matter to be carefully examined. In this respect the poet stands in sharp contrast to Śrīharṣa who considers kaṭhinatā i.e. abstruseness as one of the elements of a poem.[4]

It is interesting to note the words of Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri on this point. In his foreword to the edition of Naishadha Part I, edited by K. L. V. Sastri, Palghat, he says—" While one might justly describe Bhāravi's poetry thus:

" स्फुटता न पदैरपाकृता न च न स्वीकृतमर्थगौरवम् "

One is greatly tempted to describe Śrī-Harṣa's poetry in these terms :—

स्फुटता कुपदैरपाकृता ह्यपि वा दुर्ग्रहवक्रसूक्तिभिः

In fact, it would be appropriate to characterise the pāka of Śrī-Harṣa's poem as auṣadha-pāka, as the oft-quoted tag " नैषधं विद्वदौषधम् " indicates, and as the name खण्डनखण्डखाद्य which, in Āyurveda, denotes a certain medicine—given to his greatest polemical work, may suggest.[5] "

However, it cannot be gainsaid that the poet has not been able to stick to this statement made by himself in II. 50. As a result, kaṭhinatā is met with occasionally in this poem. What is mainly responsible for this is the idea to imitate his predecessors.

This imitation is only in the general design and not in the workmanship according to the opinion of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. He states—" Māgha started a new type, adopting various factors from the epic of Bhāravi, and it is the work of Māgha that became the model for many a poet of the later stage. It is for showing this fact that I included a few of such specimens in which the technique of Māgha has been followed. Such later works are not at all photographic reproductions ; the imitation is only in the outline, in the general design, and not in the workmanship. In the matter of workmanship, there is no imitation at all; each is an original work in itself.[6] "

According to the poet, Rasa (sentiment) is the essence of poetry (II. 30; 31; 32; 40; 42). Rasa accompanied by Alaṅkaras (figures of speech) can delight

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4 Cf. ग्रन्थग्रन्थिरिह क्वचित्क्वचिदपि न्यासि प्रयत्नान्मया
प्राज्ञम्मन्यमना हठेन पठिती माऽस्मिन् खलः खेलतु ।
श्रद्धाराद्धगुरुश्लथीकृतदृढग्रन्थिः समासादय-
त्वेतत्काव्यरसोर्मिमज्जनसुखव्यासज्जनं सज्जनः ॥ २२.१५२
'नैषधमहाकाव्यम्' (उत्तरखण्डम्), हरिदास-संस्कृत-ग्रन्थमाला २०५, चौखाम्बा-संस्कृत-सीरिज, बनारस-१, १९५४, p. १५८६.

5 Vide Pandit K. L. V. Sastri (ed.), Śrī Harsha's Naishadha with the commentary of Mallinatha, Part I (Sargas I-VI) Third edition, 1930, Palghat with a foreword by MM. Vidyavacaspati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, P. 9.

6 Vide Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Survey of Sanskrit Literature, Bombay, 1962, P. 151.

the good (II. 49). Maṅkha considers Śṛṅgāra (the erotic sentiment) as the king of sentiments (VIII. 50). The detailed description of the parting of lovers given in XXI. 20-29 is for heightening the appeal of the sentiment of heroism by linking it up with the sentiment of love. In XXIII. 41, Maṅkha refers to the Vibhāva (Ālambanavibhāva) which testifies to his knowledge of ' Rasa ' theory.

The definition of Vibhāva as found in Sāhityadarpaṇa is as follows :

Ratyādyudbodhakā loke vibhāvāḥ kāvyanāṭyayoḥ ।
Ālambanoddīpanākhyau tasya bhedāvubhau smṛtau ॥ III. 53
Ālambanaṃ nāyakādistamālambya rasodgamāt ॥ III. 54

Those that are the causes of excitement of love in the case of Rāma etc. in the world, i.e. Sītā etc., the same are called Vibhāvāḥ when rendered into a poem or a drama. Vibhāva has two sub-divisions Ālambana Vibhāva and Uddīpana Vibhāva. Ālambana Vibhāva is the hero (heroine, the rival hero) etc. because the origination of the sentiment is dependent on him.[7]

According to Maṅkha if erudition and sentiment go together in a poem then it is the best one (II. 38). Maṅkha directly refers to Ārabhaṭī vṛtti in V. 48 and to Vaidarbhī rīti in II. 41. It is however, vigorous Vaidarbhī as that of Śrīharṣa nearing Gauḍī, in contrast with graceful Vaidarbhī of Kālidāsa. Maṅkha refers to Prasādaguṇa in I. 24, which is found illustrated in II. 1; X. 1; XXII. 20.

The definition of Prasādaguṇa as found in Kāvyādarśa Pariccheda I is as follows:

Prasādavat prasiddhārthamindorindīvaradyuti ।
lakṣma lakṣmīṃ tanotīti pratītisubhagaṃ vacaḥ ॥

That sentence in which the comprehension of the meaning is easy and which conveys a well-known meaning is called a sentence endowed with prasāda (guṇa) e.g. the spot on the moon which possesses the lustre of a blue lotus enhances beauty.[8]

Clarity is a rare quality (II. 51). The composition of mere four quarters (of a stanza) does not make a poem (II. 51). This is poet's criticism of the plagiarists. A connoisseur only can appreciate the merit of a poem (II. 12). The adverse criticism of a lowly person purifies a composition (II. 19).

Sentiment of Heroism—Main Sentiment

The main sentiment in this poem is Vīra or the sentiment of heroism. It is however, delineated in the conventional manner just as Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha have done.

7 Vide Śivadatta (ed.) ' Sāhityadarpaṇa ' printed at Shri Venkateshvar Steam Press, Bombay, 1917, PP. 116-117.

8 Vide Nṛsiṃhadeva Śāstri, (ed.) ' Kāvyādarśa ' second edition, published by Meharachandra Lakṣmaṇadāsa, Sanskrit Hindi Booksellers, Lahore, 1934, p. 28.

Moreover, the poet has given a detailed description of the parting of lovers in XXI. 20-29 and has thereby heightened the appeal of the sentiment of heroism by linking it up in this manner with the sentiment of love. In the same way cantos VI to XV create a sort of favourable background for the development of the sentiment of heroism in the subsequent cantos from XVIII to XXIV by connecting it with erotic sentiment. Thus erotic sentiment occupies a next place to that of the heroic. The sentiments of Bhakti and Śānta occupy a next place to the erotic sentiment since the former is to be found in cantos I, III, IV, V, XVI, XVII and in stanzas 1 to 7 and 152 of canto XXV while the latter is seen in cantos II, XXV (except the stanzas mentioned above.)

Maṅkha and his predecessors

Like Bhāravi and Māgha, Maṅkha draws upon other Purāṇas also over and above the main source viz. the story as narrated in the Mahābhārata. Moreover, Maṅkha intoduces certain set pieces of description and narration from his predecessors to embellish his poem.

Kālidāsa and Maṅkha

Kālidāsa's influence on Maṅkha can be seen from Maṅkha's representation of the smoke forming the ornaments on various limbs of the idol of Śiva (III. 40-43) in the like manner in which it is represented by Kālidāsa as forming ornaments on the bride's face (Raghuvaṃśa VII. 26). In the same way, in the description of the morning by the bards who tried to awaken Lord Śiva (XVI), Maṅkha appears to have been inspired by Kālidāsa's similar description in the Raghuvaṃśa (V. 65-75). The statement that in Śṛṅgāra (poet's brother) learning and riches were found united (III. 46) is a clear echo of a similar statement of Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṃśa (VI. 29). Similarly in the statement of Maṅkha that it was by the mountain Kailāsa only that the other mountains could be said to have a good king (of mountains) (IV. 13) there is a clear influence of a similar statement of Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṃśa (VI. 22). Maṅkha echos a similar statement of Kālidāsa made in Kumārasambhava (I. 10) when he mentions the lustre of shining vegetables in IV. 47; XII. 50. In the statement of Maṅkha in XI. 49 that the thighs of a lady vanquished the trunk of a plaintain tree there is an undisguised imitation of a similar statement of Kālidāsa in Kumārasambhava I. 36. Maṅkha speaks of a male holding a lotus in his hand for sport in XVIII. 31. This is a clear imitation of Kālidāsa's statement in which one of the suitor-kings is shown rotating the lotus in his hand in Raghuvaṃśa VI. 13. Maṅkha uses the word Ahnāya in XIX. 59; XX. 46 and XXIII. 56 probably under the influence of Kālidāsa who has used it in his Kumārasambhava V. 86.

But there is a vast difference between these two poets as regards their style and diction. In Maṅkha, we have enough of grace of expression and melody of

verse but not the charming simplicity of Kālidāsa. Maṅkh's poem does possess the neatness of versification, beauty of diction, richness of imagery and parade of learning still it fails to touch the heart of the reader. Kālidāsa's poems possess all the good qualities enumerated here and yet they touch the reader's heart. In place of Svabhāvokti in Kālidāsa, we find Vakrokti and Atiśayokti in Maṅkha while instead of Upamā in Kālidāsa, we have Utprekṣā in Maṅkha. Whereas Kālidāsa is suggestive, Maṅkha is expressive.

Bhāravi, Māgha, Bilhaṇa and Maṅkha

Bhāravi is a beginner of mannerisms in the later poets. His deep-rooted influence is seen on Māgha who has surpassed his predecessor in the exaggerated opinion of some Sanskrit Paṇḍits. The use of double entendre and obsolete words, the fondness for exhibiting grammatical and metrical skill and a wonderful command over the Sanskrit language as evinced in the different Bandhas are some outstanding features of Bhāravi's style. They are further elaborated by Māgha. The special features of Māgha are the use of rare and obsolete words and the introduction of Śāstric learning in the poem.

Regarding the influence which Māgha exercised over other poets, Dr. De observes as follows. " Bhaṭṭi and Māgha, therefore, were preferred by authors of laborious talents as models of imitative literary exercises ; for here it was possible to make up by learning and rhetoric what was lacking in passion and poetry. On the one hand, the work of Bhaṭṭi became a precursor of some marvellous triumphs of literary ingenuity, Māgha's poem, on the other, started a long series of artificially sustained compositions, which seldom went beyond the stereotyped form, theme, manner and method, and included all the customary appandages and embellishments...... Māgha himself was indebted to this process of conscious or unconscious conventionalising, which he brought to its acme and which all his successors adored. But while Māgha was a poet, not many of his successors were ; they had his qualities without his genius, his defects without the power of redeeming them. The fine sense of restraint and balance which we find in Kālidāsa is something quite different from the new standard of erudite correctness and massive craftsmanship, in which hardly any one can be put above Māgha, but which, up to a point, can be acquired and applied by labour and dexterity." [9].

All the above features except the exhibition of grammatical skill and the use of Bandhas are to be found in Maṅka's poem. In the use of Udgatā metre in canto IX of Śc., Maṅkha seems to have been clearly influenced by Bhāravi [10] and Māgha. [11]

9 Vide Dr. De, HSL, Vol. I, pp. 305-306.
10 Vide Canto 12 of Kirātārjunīya.
11 Vide Canto 15 of Śiśupālavadha.

Maṅkha seems to be in the habit of using uncommon and obsolete words culled from the dictionaries. Here, he seems to have been influenced by his predecessors such as Bhāravi, Māgha and Bilhaṇa etc. A few examples to illustrate the point are given below :

Maṅkha has used the word andhas in the sense of food in XXIII. 46. Bhāravi has also used it in the same sense in Kirātārjunīya I. 39. In the same way, Maṅkha uses the words Śāratā XVI. 29 and Śārita IV. 24; X. 16; 38, XIV. 11, XXII. 25 in the same senses in which they are used in Kirātārjunīya IX. 29 and VIII. 11 respectively. Similarly Māgha's influence on Maṅkha becomes evident from the use of peculiar vocabulary e.g. Maṅkha has used the words in the same senses in which they are found used by Māgha in Śiśupālavadha.

Śc.	Śiśupālavadha
Kaḍāra XVIII. 19,	V. 3,
Kārmaṇa III. 12; 63,	X. 37,
Kutha XXV. 19,	I. 8,
Maṅkṣu XI. 52; XXII. 18,	V. 37,
Nibirīsa XVIII. 4,	VII. 20,
Saptatantu XXIV. 25,	XIV. 6,
Śāri XXIII. 29,	XV. 77,
Śuṣman XXIV. 29,	XIV. 22,
Tapas (masculine gender) III. 8; IV. 56,	VI. 63,
Tulita XXIV. 1,	V. 31; VIII. 12; XV. 30, 61,
Utkalikā IX. 15, and	III. 70, and
Vipruṣ IV. 64; XIV. 46; XIX. 15; XXIV. 42	II. 18; VIII. 40 respectively.

There are some thirteen peculiar words used by Maṅkha and Bilhaṇa both.

The following words found in Śc. are also found used in the same meanings in Vikramāṅkadevacaritam.

Śc.	Vikra°
Jalārdrā X. 46,	IV. 24,
Hasantikā III. 29; VI. 15; XXII. 43,	XVI. 48,
Agrahāra XXV. 37,	XVIII. 19; 24; 39,
Cīnapiṣṭa XIV. 22; 46; XVI. 22; XIX. 56; XXIII. 15,	III. 61; XIV. 68,
Vaiśasaṃ XIX. 46; XXI. 8; XXII. 30; XXIII. 51,	III. 36; XIV. 16,
Aṅkapālī VI. 73; XIV. 63,	IV. 47; XIII. 12,
Kaṅkaṭa XII. 14; XIII. 3; XX. 59; XXII. 42; XXIII. 11,	XVI. 18,
Dhoraṇī III. 26; XII. 50; 95; XIV. 2; XVIII. 30,	XVI. 42,

Śc.	Vikra°
Pṛṣatka XX. 40; 41,	XVI. 42; VIII. 23,
Karpara XVI. 59,	XIV. 30,
Āndolita XII. 52,	X. 35,
Preṅkhola I. 47; VII. 51, and	XI. 82, and
Parivṛḍha XVI. 13; XXIV. 41,	XVIII. 34 respectively.

The words laṭabha and hevāka used by Maṅkha clearly show that he was influenced by Bilhaṇa who has used them in Vikra° VIII. 6; X. 58 and VII. 63 and that the latter one of these two words viz. hevāka might have been derived most probably from Persian or Arabic.[12] For hevāka compare Śc. XVI. 24 and for laṭabha compare VI. 44; XII. 63; XIII. 25; 41; XV. 34 etc.

The phrase Kāyasthaiḥ kuṭilalipibhiḥ occurring in Vikra° XVIII. 42, is found in Śc. VI. 70 as kuṭilalipibhiḥ kaṃ kāyasthaṃ without much change. This shows clear imitation on the part of Maṅkha. Not only that but certain descriptions supplied and ideas expressed in both the poems are strikingly similar. Maṅkha supplies the description of the censure of the Moon by the maidens whose lovers are guilty of infidelity in Śc. XI. 52 to 62 under the influence of a similar censure of the Moon by women in separation found in Vikra° XIV. 41 to 45. The ideas expressed in Śc. about the Vaidarbhī Rīti II. 41 and about good expression II. 30 ; 38 ; 47 ; 49, good poet II. 31 ; 39 ; 40 ; 55, cunning people II. 3 ; 16 ; 18 ; 21 ; 23 ; 25 etc. have a striking similarity in Vikra° I. 9; 13 and I. 22 ; 29, I. 17 ; 18, I. 18 ; 29 respectively. The idea expressed in Śc. II. 12ab that only a knower of literature can appreciate the good qualities of poets is exactly a restatement of a similar idea found in Vikra° I. 14ab. Moreover, the ideas expressed in Śc. II. 7, III. 10 and II. 32 ; 47 are identical with those expressed in Vikra° I. 19, I. 21 and I. 22.

A minute top-to-toe description of the physical charms of the heroine is found in Bilhaṇa's Vikra° VIII. 6-88 and Maṅkha might have been influenced by it while describing the physical charms of a female character in XI. 42-50.

Some set descriptions occur in both the poems, for example the description of the good and the wicked people, is found in Śc. canto II as well as in Vikra° canto I. Similarly the descriptions found in Śc. of the spring season (canto VI), of the swinging game (VII), of the flower-plucking (VIII), of water-sport (IX) are also come across in Vikra° (canto X). In the same way the descriptions found in Śc. of the evening twilight (canto X), of the Moon (XI), of the Moonrise (XII), of wine-drinking (XIV), of amorous sports (XV) and of the morning (XVI) are found in Vikra° also in canto XI. Such descriptions are usually

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12 Vide P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve (Ed.), Principal V. S. Apte's 'The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary', Part III, Prasad Prakashan, Poona, 1959, P. 1765.

common to all ornate epics but the descriptions of the good and the wicked people and the description of the swinging game are peculiar to Vikra° and Śc. Not only do they occur in both the poems but the order of their occurrence also remains the same in both of them. This shows that while composing the Śc. Maṅkha must have kept the Vikra° as a model before him. Thus the imitation on the part of Maṅkha is with regard to the outline, the general design. However the workmanship is his own.

Regarding the style of Bilhaṇa, Dr. A. B. Keith says— "Bilhaṇa affects the Vaidarbha style and avoids long compounds ; his language is normally simple and clear, and he does not overdo alliterations or plays on words".[13] Thus Bilhaṇa illustrates the Vaidarbhī Rīti. Maṅkha tries to follow in the footsteps of Bilhaṇa as can be seen from the foregoing statements as he entertains a very high opinion about the Prauḍhi of Bilhaṇa as mentioned in Śc. XXV. 79. Maṅkha's style comes very near to that of Bilhaṇa as can be seen from the foregoing discussion and so it can reasonably be called the Vaidarbhī.

Moreover, the beauties of the Murala territory situated in Keral in South India are referred to in Vikra° XVIII. 18 as well as in Śc. VI. 39 and VII. 39. This shows the influence of Bilhaṇa on Maṅkha. The reference to Gopuras in Vikra° XVIII. 35 and Śc. XVII. 59 also supports the same conclusion since Gopuras belong to South India. It can be said that mere references to Gopuras and Murala beauties are insufficient to establish the influence of Bilhaṇa on Maṅkha since Maṅkha had first hand knowledge of South India as he had stayed in Karṇāṭaka as an ambassador.[14] This argument holds water only in the absence of other striking similarities with regard to the use of peculiar terminology, similar phraseology, identity and similarity of ideas and similarity of diction that are found in both of them. Since these are found in a considerably large proportion in the two poems therefore the reference to Murala beauties and Gopuras must be taken as supplementary proof of the influence of Bilhaṇa on Maṅkha. Maṅkha might have seen the beauties of other territories also extending from Kashmir to Karṇāṭaka and the adjacent territories but he refers particularly to the Murala beauties whose beauty he might have found exquisite from first hand knowledge too.

Maṅkha has supplied an interesting account of his family, his country and its rulers, his contemporaries and their literary equipments and achievements etc. in cantos III and XXV. This he has done most probably under the influence of Bilhaṇa. We find a similar account in Bilhaṇa's Vikra° canto XVIII. As Dr. De puts it in the History of Sanskrit Literature " The last canto of the work (Vikra°),

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13 Vide Dr. A. B. Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford, 1920, p. 156.

14 Vide Dr. M. Krishnamachariar, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Madras, 1937, p. 177.

as the first Ucchvāsa of the Harṣa-carita, gives an interesting account of the poet's family, his country and its rulers, his wandering and literary adventures[15]". Moreover, the reverence with which Maṅkha refers to the Prauḍhi (mature style) of Bilhaṇa in XXV. 79 shows that Maṅkha considered Bilhaṇa's style as a norm. This was not without sufficient reasons. To quote the words of Dr. De—" It is as a poet that Bilhaṇa excels; and, in spite of his obvious conventionalism, he often succeeds in imparting a fine poetical charm to his graphic pictures. What Bilhaṇa lacks, like most poets of this period, is confident originality and independence, but within his limits he is undoubtedly an impressive artist and poet. His style is not easy, but elegant and normally attractive; it is doubtless studied, but not overdone with subtleties of thought and expression; it is fully embellished, but reasonably clear and effective in its verbal and metrical skill. This is no mean praise in an age of mechanical conventionality, which reproduced colourless imitations of little merit. Comparatively speaking, Bilhaṇa's work remains a graphic document for the subject and a pleasant poem in itself[16]". The above remarks of Dr. De on Bilhaṇa's style hold good generally in the case of Maṅkha's style also.

Thus it is clear that Maṅkha has been considerably influenced by the poets mentioned above still he has shown sufficient originality in the treatment of the theme from both the points of view viz. matter[17] and manner[18].

Power of Description

The poet gives us a vivid and picturesque description of the various forms which the streaks of incense are represented as assuming when at the time of the worship of Śiva's idol by Viśvavarta they come across the various limbs of the idol from the feet to the head (III. 40-44). In the same way Maṅkha gives us a picturesque description of an assembly of the learned in XXV. 17, 18 and 21. Maṅkha also gives us a very fine imagery in XII. 94 also in XV. 40. Certain imageries are remarkably appropriate and captivating e.g. IV. 37-42; XIII. 27; 28; XVI. 21; 59; XIX. 55 etc.

Power of Observation

The poet mentions the young-ones of the birds without full blown wings trying to fly and falling on the ground often (II. 36). The poet refers to the sweet voice of a male cuckoo in VI. 24; VIII. 8; 30. He refers to the rearing up of the cuckoos during their early infancy by others (i.e. other birds especially by the crow) in VI. 10; 11. He refers to the red colour of the beak of a parrot in

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15 Vide Dr. De, HSL, Vol. I, P. 350.

16 Vide Dr. De, Op. Cit. P. 353.

17 e.g. in the delineation of the characters of Viṣṇu and Brahmā as subordinate to that of Śiva and in assigning a cogent reason for the coming together of Tripurās etc.

18 e.g. in avoiding the use of Bandhas.

VI. 19. He refers to the dancing of a peacock on seeing the clouds sending forth rain and on seeing the dance of another peacock (XVI. 25).

The Śc. a Śāstrakāvya.

Maṅkha exhibits in this poem an abundance of poetic skill (Śakti) and erudition (vyutpatti) and hence it can be described as a Śāstrakāvya. Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāṃsā envisages a wide range of intellectual equipment for a poet, and enumerates twelve recognised sources of poetry [19]. Maṅkh's Śc. fulfils many of these conditions of vyutpatti. We shall examine them one by one. Maṅkha has shown sufficient acquaintance with Śruti [20] and Smṛti in his poem. (1) Itihāsa [21]—This word generally stands for the two epics, viz. the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. Like the poems of Bhāravi and Māgha the Śc. is also based upon an episode of the Mbh. (2) Purāṇa :—Maṅkha's knowledge of purāṇas is seen throughout in this poem [22]. (3) Pramāṇavidyā i.e. philosophical systems, (4) Samayavidyā i.e. sectarian systems, like those of the Śaivas, the Pāñcarātras [23] and the Buddhists, popularly called Āgama. Maṅkha avails himself of them in numerous places [24]. Rājasiddhāntatrayī or the three Rājasiddhāntas are (5) Arthaśāstra or Polity (6) Nāṭyaśāstra or Dramaturgy (i.e. rhetorics) and (7) Kāmaśāstra or Erotics. Maṅkha utilizes his knowledge of these siddhāntas at various places. But he excels in the use of Erotics. He ransacks the whole of the Kāmaśāstra especially in the description of the sambhogaśṛngāra of the denizens of heaven in canto XV. The description in this canto is very close to the teaching of the Erotics. (8) Loka or the knowledge of the world, its geography and customs :— This is also to be found in a very large proportion in this poem [25]. (9) Viracanā or fanciful stories and conceits [26] and lastly (10) Prakīrṇaka or miscellaneous subjects like the science of birds, the science of horses, the dhanurvidyā etc. :— These also have their due share in this poem at various places [27].

On account of the preponderance of all these characteristics in the Śc., it deserves to be called a Śāstrakāvya, and consequently, the poet deserves the title of

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19 श्रुतिः, स्मृतिः, इतिहासः, पुराणं, प्रमाणविद्या, समयविद्या, राजसिद्धान्तत्रयी, लोकः, विरचना, प्रकीर्णकं च काव्यार्थानां द्वादश योनयः । काव्यमीमांसा, (GOS. vol. I. 1934), Chapter 8, P. 35.

20 For details vide chapters V and VII.

21 Cf. also chapter IX.

22 Vide chapter VI.

23 Vide the reference to the four vyūhas of Viṣṇu in stanza 58 of canto XXV.

24 Vide chapters V and VII.

25 Vide chapter X.

26 Vide chapter XII.

27 Vide chapters V and VII.

Kavipaṇḍita. In this respect Śc. bears a striking resemblance with the Naiṣadhīyacaritam of Śrīharṣa which is described in its turn as Vidvadauṣadham. Probably due to such erudite qualities of the Śc., it might have won laurels from the Kashmir paṇḍits who were masters of all the fourteen lores as is clear from canto XXV.

Here a doubt is likely to arise with regard to the propriety of the application of the epithet 'Śāstra-kāvya' to the Śc. It may be said that to claim the title 'Śāstra-kāvya' the Śc. ought to have expounded a Śāstra in the manner in which 'Kāmandakīya' expounds Nītiśāstra (politics). Since the Śc. does not expound a Śāstra in the said manner therefore it cannot be called a 'Śāstra-kāvya' in the same sense. Here, however, the epithet 'Śāstrakāvya' is applied to the Śc. in the sense of the poetry of erudite oddity. Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri had corroborated this view with reference to the Naiṣadhīyacarita in his foreword to the Naiṣadha, part I, edited by Pandit K.L.V. Sastri, Palghat. This is as much correct in the case of Śc. as it is in the case of Naiṣadhīyacarita. I quote here verbatim from the said foreword by MM. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. "There is no doubt that he has exhibited in his Naiṣadha, a super-abundance of poetic skill (Śakti) and erudition (vyutpatti)—the two elements which, within appropriate limits, constitute the make-up of a genuine poet. If a sahṛdaya could appreciate the poetry of nonsense, such as one finds in Śakāra's poetry in the Mṛcchakaṭika, it is scarcely difficult to see that tough-minded sahṛdayas can easily find in Śrī Harṣa's Naiṣadha a masterly specimen of the poetry of erudite oddity. It is in this sense that the Naiṣdha is sometimes described as a Śāstra-kāvya[28]. Here, scholars are likely to be reminded of Bhāmaha's unforgettable observation :—

"काव्यान्यपि यदीमानि व्याख्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत् ।
उत्सवः सुधियामेव हन्त दुर्मेधसो हताः ॥" II-10.

Bhaṭṭi, in his famous Bhaṭṭi-kāvya, challenged the above observation by Bhāmaha, with a considerable measure of success, and produced what might be characterised as the highest type of the poetry of sauśabdya, making the following remark at the end of his work :—

"व्याख्यागम्यमिदं काव्यमुत्सवः सुधियामलम् ।
हता दुर्मेधसश्चास्मिन् विद्वत्प्रियतया मया ॥" XXII-34.

Bhaṭṭi's remark applies to Śrī-Harṣa's Naiṣadha, not merely from the viewpoint of sauśabdya, but also from that of versatile Śāstraic erudition. The

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28 Vide Pandit K.L.V. Sastri (ed.), Sri Harsha's Naishadha with the commentary of Mallinatha Part I (Sargas I-VI) Third edition, 1930, Palghat with a foreword by MM. Vidyavacaspati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, p. 7.

subjoined extracts from the end of the last canto of the Naiṣadha may, with advantage, be studied in order to know Śrī Harṣa's own estimate of his poem [29] :

" यथा यूनस्तद्वत्परमरमणीयापि रमणी
कुमाराणामन्तःकरणहरणं नैव कुरुते ।
मदुक्तिश्चेदन्तर्मदयति सुधीभूय सुधियः
किमस्या नाम स्यादरसपुरुषानादरभरैः ॥
दिशि दिशि गिरिग्रावाणः स्वां वमन्तु सरस्वतीं
तुलयतु मिथस्तामापातस्फुरद्ध्वनिडम्बराम् ।
स परमपरः क्षीरोदन्वान् यदीयमुदीयते
मथितुरमृतं खेदच्छेदि प्रमोदनमोदनम् ॥ "

Similarly Maṅkha's own estimate of his poem can be known from the study of stanzas 26; 35; 40 and 53 of canto II of the Śc. These stanzas show that Maṅkha entertained a very high opinion about his own poem. The remark of Jonarāja on II. 53 is significant on this point. He says that by the employment of an evasive expression kaścana (i.e. someone) the poet indicates himself and thereby the poet suggests that his poem is superior to the poems of Meṇṭha etc. [30] This estimate of the poet may be considered a sort of bias of the poet for his own poem but the unanimous applause which his poem won from the assembly of thirty-two Kashmirian scholars of established repute as mentioned in Śc. XXV. 144-148 justifies the claims of the poet. The above remarks of MM. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri that Bhaṭṭi's remark applies to Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadha not merely from the viewpoint of sauśabdya, but also from that of versatile Śāstraic erudition applies to Maṅkha's Śc. as well.

Śc. a Puruṣa Kāvya

Just as the Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi and the Śiśupālavadha of Māgha the Śc. of Maṅkha also glorifies the male characters. Thus the Śc. is dedicated to Puruṣa while both the poems of Kālidāsa the Raghuvaṃśa and the Kumārasambhava are dedicated to Prakṛti i.e. they *mainly* glorify the female characters. Here I have merely quoted one of the views.

Rhetorical Excellences

In VI. 13 the charm lies in the mention of the beauty of colour and the absence of fragrance of the Karṇikāra flower by inference. Thus it is stated that the eye and the nose continued their controversy regarding the full-blown Karṇikāra flower ; the nose exhibiting the fault viz. the absence of fragrance

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29 Ibid. PP. 7-8.

30 Cf. कश्चनेति संवृतिवक्रतया स्वात्मानं निर्दिशन्कविर्मेण्ठादिकाव्यात्स्वकाव्यमधिकं द्योतितवान् ।
जोनराज on Śc. II. 53.

and the eye assuming the role of a bard because of the beauty of colour. On account of such a novel imagery the poet received a special epithet viz. Karṇikāramaṅkha [31]. Just as other poets have received significant epithets e.g. Dīpaśikhākālidāsa, Chatrabhāravi, Ghaṇṭāmāgha, Tālaratnākara and Yamunātrivikrama by composing stanzas involving extraordinary imagery.

In St. I.2 the charm lies in the mention of the production of the effect viz. tears even without the existence of its cause viz. the smoke. Not only that but the uniqueness of the fire is suggested in a round about way by stating its being unaccompanied by smoke since it has not sprung up from ordinary fuel. The charm is heightened by the pun on the word bhūti which suits the context in a very nice manner.

Defects

The description of an imaginary but queer female form as given in IV. 55 shows only lack of taste on the part of the poet. The description is not in keeping with good taste and sentiment. How ugly and absurd the imagination of this kind of female form is ! Similarly in IV. 58 also we find lack of good taste and propriety since a womb with foetus is found only in case of females but here Kailāsa is a male. In the same way the imagery of an elephant form of Śiva is dull and unattractive since it is based on pun (V. 13). Usually ladies of high station held a lotus in their hand for sport but Maṅkha speaks of a male holding it in his hand (XVIII. 31).

Anachronisms

There are a few examples of anachronism e.g. in canto VIII up to stanza 15 the incidents are mentioned as taking place on Kailāsa or somewhere near it but in stanza 17 it is stated that the wind from Kerala made the creepers there (on Kailāsa) tremble. In XXI. 23 the spouse of a warrior who might be one of the gods in the army of gods talks to him about their union in heaven in case of their death. But the gods are known to be dwelling in heaven and in stanza 12 the poet himself has called it an army of gods (Suparvavāhinī). Then how the question of beng united in heaven after death can arise at all ? Moreover, gods are known to be immortals. Similarly the statement made in XXI. 24 that one of the ladies dissuaded her husband from trying to reach heaven by dying bravely on the battlefield to embrace celestial damsels is also an anachronism because the speaker and the listener are the celestial damsel and a god respectively.

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31 Cf. Jonarāja : दृष्टिनासिकयोः स्वविषये गुणदोषदर्शनात्तन्निराकरणसमर्थहेतूपन्याससामर्थ्याभावेन निर्णयरहिते विवादे समाप्तिर्नासीदित्यर्थः । कर्णिकारस्य वर्णसौभाग्यं सौगन्ध्याभावश्च कविना युक्त्या प्रतिपादित इति कर्णिकारमङ्ख इति प्रसिद्धिः । p. 77 (NSP. ed.).

Modern Critics on the Śc.

The drawbacks enumerated above are insufficient to belittle the greatness of the poem as the efforts of some modern critics to do so have remained unsuccessful. They are either obsessed by some predilections or give their verdict without carefully going through the poem. One of the modern critics says that 'the book is as dreary and uninteresting as the Haravijaya noticed above. It does, however, give a full account of its author'[32]. Really speaking Haravijaya is even much more dreary and uninteresting than the Śc. According to another critic 'the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha shows the same stereotyped form, method and diction.... As usual the story here is of the slightest importance and the whole stock-in-trade of accessories is liberally brought in. ... In the last canto, however, which was probably added later, we have an account of some historical and literary interest, written in the simpler and easier Śloka metre, of an assembly of learned men, held under the patronage of the poet's brother Alaṅkāra, a minister of Jayasimha of Kashmir (1127-1150 A.D), on the occasion of the completion and reading of the poem. It includes thirty names of scholars, poets and officials, stating their capacities and their tastes. But for these personal details, which have a value of their own, the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita shows only a faithful observance of the rules of poetics regarding the composition of a Mahākāvya, and is consequently a work of little originality. As a pupil of Ruyyaka, Maṅkhaka shows much cleverness in the use of rhetorical ornaments, and succeeds in achieving some rich and charming effects in language and metre, but generally speaking, his work lacks lucidity of expression, as well as freshness and variety'[33]. The deficiency in originality and stereotyped form, method and diction are the results of a faithful observance of the rules of poetics. The last charge viz. lack of lucidity of expression as well as the lack of freshness and variety is true to a certain extent but it should be remembered that ornate poems cannot remain absolutely free from these defects.

Regarding this poem, Dr. Bühler writes—'Maṅkha probably wrote his chief work, the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, between 1135 and 1145....The Śc. contains like the Haravijaya besides the story of Tripura's defeat, many cantos describing the usual accessories allowed in kāvyas. It is composed so strictly according to the norm of the Kāvyaśāstra, and offers, in spite of the great eloquence and proficiency in versification shown by the author, so few new points of interest, that but for its 25th canto, which is altogether unique in Sanskrit literature, it would deserve little attention....This canto has a double value. It gives a faithful picture of a sabhā, one of the chief modes of social intercourse among the learned in India. The description is so true that nobody who has witnessed such

32 Dr. Lahiri, Cultural Heritage of India., Vol. III, p. 645.

33 Vide Dr. De, HSL Vol. I, pp. 322-23.

gatherings in modern India will fail to recognize his acquaintances in it. Besides it contains some valuable historical notes..... Another portion of the Śc. which possesses historical interest is canto III. 31-78[34] where Maṅkha gives his pedigree, and the circumstances which led to the composition of his poem.[35]

Regarding this poem, M. Krishnamacharya says—'The style is rugged and harsh. Many of Maṅkha's stanzas have a double meaning and the poetical ideas are rarely distinct. His learning and mastery of the Sanskrit language is however wonderful. ..... His work foms a landmark in literary history. In one of the later cantos he refers to a number of his contemporary poets of whom principally were Kalhaṇa and Jalhaṇa.'[36] Elsewhere the same scholar advances an adverse criticism on Śc. XXI. 29. He states 'even the female counterparts of the warriors also were deemed necessary to march along with the warriors.' But it is not intended in the like manner by the poet. There it is stated that they followed the warriors evidently up to a very small distance at the outset on the path towards Tripura after traversing which they might have turned back to their homes. Thus there is no defect of inappropriateness.

Another critic opines—'Much of what is contained there would declare the poem a mahākāvya'.[37]

From the foregoing remarks of modern critics on the Śc. it becomes clear that it well deserves the name of a mahākāvya and that to undertake its study is worth its while as shown above. Moreover, it is not yet properly studied even though it can compete with Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīyacarita or with Māgha's Śiśupālavadha in point of merit.

34 Vide Jour. Be. Br. R. As. Soc. XII., Art. IX., and an unpublished Society's Museum.

35 Vide Bühler's Kashmir Report (extra number of JBRAS), Bombay, 1877, pp. 50-52.

36 Vide M. Krishnamacharya, A History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature, Madras, 1906, p. 46

37 Vide Varadachari, A History of the Sanskrit Literature, Allahabad, p. 84.

CHAPTER XV
CONCLUSION

The foregoing chapters show that Maṅkha is one of the most versatile poets in the Sanskrit Literature. He is a master of grammar and lexicography, a profound scholar of philosophy and religion, an expert in statecraft and mythological stories, a keen observer of men and matters as also a consumate literary artist and a representative of the age of learning.

Thus we naturally expect that his poem should enjoy as much popularity as the poems of the other poets viz. Māgha, Śrīharṣa etc. have enjoyed. But really speaking the Śc. could not enjoy as wide a popularity as the poems of Māgha or Śrīharṣa did. Those factors which intervened are as follows.

Factors which prevented the Śc. from securing wider popularity than what it already enjoys.

In composing the Śc. Maṅkha was actuated by one singular motive viz. to eulogize Lord Śiva only in contrast with other poets who used to eulogize kings (I. 56; XXV. 5-6) to gain their favour. Thus Maṅkha's indifference towards gaining such popularity is an important factor which might have prevented the Śc. also from gaining more popularity.

It may be that the fame of Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīyacarita might have overshadowed that of the Śc. Moreover, Śrīharṣa had written many other works of repute though now lost to us.

However, the place of the Śc. in the anthologies point to its intrinsic merit. The poem is in many ways a repository of classical learning [1]. The poem has its own valuable contribution to make to the history of Sanskrit Literature [2]. Moreover, it supplies valuable historical and political [3], geographical [4] social and religious [5] data which are important for the study of the cultural history of medieval India.

1 Vide chapters V, VI, and VII.
2 Vide Dr. Bühler, 'Kashmir report' JBRAS, 1877, pp. 50-52.
3 Vide chapter IX.
4 Vide chapter VIII.
5 Vide chapter X.

APPENDIX I

Literature on Tripuradahana Story

The story of Tripuradahana by Lord Śiva is one of the most popular stories of India.

The story appears in its germinical form in the ŚB. III. 4.4.4 and AB. I.25.[1] But in its developed form it is to be found in the Mbh.[2] and the Purāṇas.[3] Many writers have tried to compose poems or write plays on the theme of this story. Their works are listed below in the alphabetical order :—

Tripuradāha[4]	: a ḍima. Anonymous.
Tripuradāhaḥ[5]	: a play.
Tripuradahana	: a poem of Rāmavarman (Yuvrāja) known as Kavisarvabhauma Kochuni Ṭampurān.[6] This work is an illustration of exquisite poetry. He was a younger member of the royal family of Cranganoor and lived in 1858-1926. He had five brothers versed in all the sciences.
Tripuradahana[7]	: a poem of Vasudeva (9th Century A.D.). There is a commentary on it by one who calls himself son of Nitvapriya.[8] This poem is an illustration of Yamaka composition.
Tripuradahanacampū[9]	: a campū. Anonymous.
Tripuramahimastava[10]	: a Stotra of Durvāsas.

1 For details vide chapter 2.

2 Cf. Mbh. Karṇaparvan, Part 1, chapter 24, BORI. ed., Poona, 1950.

3 e.g. ŚVP. ; SKP.; MP.; Pmp.; Br.; LgP.; Bhāg. etc.

4 Krishnamachariar : HSL., p. 547. A ḍima on the Tripuradahana episode which passes under the name of Vatsarāja is published in the GOS., No. VIII. Moreover, in M.R. Kavi's ed. of the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata GOS., No. XXXVI, it is stated that the Tripuradāha ḍima was enacted before Lord Śiva for the first time by the sage Bharata who promulgated Nāṭya among the people.

5 It is quoted by Śāradātanaya in his Bhāvaprakāśanam. Vide Krishnamachariar : HSL., p. 768.

6 His Anaṅgavijaya and Vitarājavijaya are bhāṇas replete with pleasant sentiments. Among his other works are Vallyudbhava, Viprasandeśa, Devadeveśvaraśataka, Uttararāmacarita and Bāṇayuddhacampū. He wrote a summary of Devisaptaśati of Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa. Vide Krishnamachariar : HSL., p. 664.

7 TC., II.2589. Op. Cit. p. 168.

8 TC., III.3837. Op. Cit. p. 168.

9 See Tanj, VII.3048. Op. Cit. p. 519.

10 Op. Cit. p. 331.

Tripuramardana [11]	: an uparūpaka. Anonymous.
Tripuramardanam [12]	: a play.
Tripuravadha [13]	: of Rudraṭa.
Tripuravijaya [14]	: a campū of Atirātrayajvan.
Tripuravijaya [15]	: of Bhoganātha.
Tripuravijayam [16]	: a drama of Nārāyaṇa Śāstrin.
Tripuravijayacampū [17]	: of Nṛsimha the son of Ānanda.
Tripuravijayacampū [18]	: of Śrīśaila son of Ānandayajvan.
Tripuravijayavyāyoga [19]	: of Padmanābha the son of Kāmaśāstrin.

11 Op. Cit. p. 548.

12 It is quoted by Śāradātanaya in his Bhāvaprakāśanam. Vide Krishnamachariar: HSL., p. 768.

13 Op. Cit. p. 744.

14 Tanj. VIII. 3378. Op. Cit. p. 519, also pp. 237-238 and p. 696.

15 Op. Cit. p. 213.

16 Op. Cit. p. 668.

17 Tanj. Cat. VII. 3044; HR. III.1605. Op. Cit. p. 247.

18 HR. III.1605; Tanj. Cat., VIII. 3044. Op. Cit. p. 244.

19 TC., III. 3370. Op. Cit. p. 667.

APPENDIX II

Commentary

Śrīkaṇṭhacarita abounds in references to different schools of philosophy, mythological stories and many other branches of knowledge and as such it would be unintelligible to readers without the guidance of a competent scholar. Fortunately in Jonarāja we find a competent guide.

Rājānaka Jonarāja

That he hailed from Kashmir becomes clear from the title Rājānaka. The name of his father was Nonarāja and that of his grandfather was Laularāja. He has written two more commentaries one on the Kirātārjunīya and the other on Pṛthvīrājavijaya. Next to Kalhaṇa, he is the well-known author of the continuation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[1] His commentary on the Śc. does not bear any special title.

He invokes Sarasvatī in the beginning.[2]

He flourished in the reign of Jainollābhadīn[3] and was the teacher of Śrīvarapaṇḍita. Some of his stanzas are quoted in the Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva.[4]

Some Noteworthy Features of Jonarāja's Commentary are as follows :—

1. At many places in the commentary the text differs from the text which is accepted by the editor e.g. दिवो निराश्रय: is found in the commentary for चिरान्निराश्रय: in the text of X.8. Also दिवाकर: is found in the comm. for प्रभाकर: in the text of X.12 etc. Occasionally the reading of the commentator is found better e.g. न यत: for भयत: in XIII. 33.

2. Usually he cites a pratīka and then explains it e.g. श्रवणयो: कर्णयोराभरणीकृतं भूषणतां नीतमशोकं कर्तृ etc. comm. on VIII. 28, and मदन: काम: स एव दाहकत्वाद्धुतवहोऽग्निस्तत्राध्वगोत्पलाक्षीजनस्य विरहिणीलोकस्य etc. on VII. 25 etc.

3 Moreover, he does not discuss grammatical terms in the middle while commenting but at the end he discusses them e.g. 'इष्टकेषीकामालानाम्' इति मालाशब्दस्य ह्रस्व:। 'वष्टि भागुरिरल्लोपमवाप्योरुपसर्गयो:' इति अवशब्दस्याकारलोप:। comm. on VII.9 ; 'अहंशुभ-

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1 CC. I, p. 209.

2. उदेति यस्यां प्रकटीभवन्त्यां तिरोहितायां गलतीव विश्वम् ।
रविप्रभेवास्तु तमो हरन्ती दृश: प्रबोधाय सरस्वती व: ॥ Śc.NSP. ed., p. i.

3 Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, Kāvyamālā 3, p. 1, NSP. ed, Bombay, 1887.

4 See Peterson (ed.), The Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva, Bombay, 1886, Nos. 3038, 604, 621 on pages 502, 92, and 95 respectively.

योर्युस' इति युस। comm. on VI. 65. In the above two respects, Jonarāja's method of commenting runs parallel to that of Mallinātha.

4. But while Mallinātha's style is characterized by perspicuity Jonarāja's style is not so very perspicuous.

5. However, Jonarāja aims at explaining the text fully.

6. Rarely he is found not clear in his explanation e.g. यतो यत्पुरस्त्रीजनस्य दृशामवग्रहो वृष्टिप्रतिबन्धः। बाष्पाभाव इत्यर्थः। स कूटस्थतया काल्व्यापित्वेन स्फुरति। वृष्टौ हि सत्यां पङ्कं भवति। प्रत्यवेक्षया पौरेषु नित्यसुखितेषु यद्भूजां यश एव स्फुरतीत्यर्थः। comm. on III. 18. Also comm. on IV. 62 and 63.

7. Jonarāja's comm. on the Śc. cannot be termed exhaustive since he does not mention at all the metres employed by the author nor the figures of speech.

8. He has made it clear at the outset that he aims at explaining the वाच्य (literal) meaning. Occasionally if he has resorted to the indicatory sense with success it also should be taken as supplementing the expressed sense. Cf.

श्रीलौलराजसुतपण्डितभट्टनोनराजात्मजः सहृदयैर्विहिताभ्यनुज्ञः।
काव्ये पुरारिचरिते कुरुतेऽभियोगं वाच्यार्थमात्रविवृतिं प्रति जोनराजः॥
शेषार्थयोरिह विहस्तितबालबोधश्रद्धाप्रतीतिररणिस्थहुताशतुल्या।
कष्टेन यस्य सुचिरादुपतिष्ठतेऽन्नं मांसस्पृहा भवति तस्य हि हासहेतुः॥
लक्ष्यादिना क्वचन सौरभमारभेय तद्वाच्यपोषकतयेत्यवसेयमेव।
अर्थव्ययं स्पृशति पर्वसु यद्दरिद्रस्तत्केवलं भवति मङ्गलभङ्गभीतेः॥

A careful examination of the comm. will make it clear that Jonarāja has strictly followed his words.

APPENDIX III

Interpolations

A critical study of the text of our poem reveals to us the following stanzas as spurious ones. However, the spurious matter in our text is comparatively negligible. The spurious matter is extracted on the authority of the commentator.

Jonarāja does not comment on the last half of stanza 39 (canto XVII) and on stanza XX. 45 as well as on stanza XXII. 26.

In the absence of any other commentary or testimony, it is difficult to say anything definite about the stanzas mentioned above. Under the present circumstances it is merely a conjecture that they may be spurious because there is a possibility that the commr. may not have commented upon them, perhaps thinking them to be easy to understand.

APPENDIX IV

Index Verborum

(A list of difficult and Obsolete words)

* Kept after a word shows that in the meaning given here it is not found in the Kośas generally. Even if found it is not used frequently in literature.

Abhika XI. 39. m. A lover.

Abhiṣeṇanam XXI. 18; XIX. 4 n. Marching against an enemy.

Abhīśu XIII. 28. m. A ray of light.

Abhyamitrīṇa XXI. 1. Approaching the enemies.

Acārmaṇa XXV. 129. a. Not made of skin therefore divine.

Ācānti XII. 38. f. Sipping water before religious ceremonies.

Ācchiddya XV. 14. Having snatched away, having removed.

Adhikurvāṇa XIX. 44. Overpowering.

Adhvanīna II. 41. a. Speeding on, moving.

Āḍhyaṃbhāvuka VI. 60. a. Becoming rich.

Agadaṃkāra XXIV. 7; 38. m. A physician.

Agniśikha V. 31. n. Saffron. Maṅkhakośa v. 101, p. 8.

Agrahāra XXV. 37. m. A grant of land given by king (to Brāhmaṇas) for sustenance.

Āhārya XXIV. 38. a. Artificial.

Ahaṃyu VI. 65. a. Proud.

Ahnāya XIX. 59; XX. 46; XXIII. 56. Ind. Instantly.

Ahaskara XVII. 3. m. The Sun.

Ajira XVII. 65; XIX. 55. n. A courtyard, an enclosed space.

Ākalpa XIII. 44; 47; 48; 49; 50; XV. 46. m. Decoration, ornament.

Akasmāt XVII. 56. Ind. Accidently, unexpectedly.

Akharva XXIV. 6. a. Not small, great.

Akṣa XX. 1. m. Parts of a chariot, A die. cf. Maṅkhakośa रथांशेक्षो v. 967-68, p. 70.

Akṣa XIX. 42. m. A wheel.

Akūpāra * XVI. 16. Sea. In Maṅkhakośa Akūvāra is given in v. 774-75, p. 56.

Alaṃbhūṣṇu II. 56. a. Capable.

Ālāna XII. 44. n. The post to which an elephant is tied.

Ālī XV. 48. f. A female friend (of a woman).

Alika III. 42; VII. 2; IX. 49; XI. 23; XIII. 6; 15; 22. n. The forehead.

Alukā; or Ālukā XIV. 42. f. A small water pot.

Amṛtāndhas XXIV. 43. m. A god, an immortal.

Anapāya XVII. 18. a. Imperishable, undecaying.

Añcala I. 35; II. 41; III. 49; V. 10.; VII. 66. m. n. The border or end.

Añcala VI. 65. m. n. Corner or outer angle (as of an eye).
Añcala VII. 39; VIII. 38; XII. 24; XV. 15; XIX. 29; XXI. 9; XXII. 22. m. n. The Corner.
Añcala XXI. 20; XXIV. 44; XXV. 26. The end.
Añcana II. 41. n. Act of bending or curving.
Añcita XIII. 24. Beautiful, attractive.
Andhas XXIII. 46. n. Food.
Anehas X. 12; 13; XVI. 18; 19. m. Time.
Anelmūka VI. 10. Deaf and dumb. Maṅkhakośa v. 91, p. 7. Kāvyaprakāśa VII. v. 171 illustration, Eḍmūka Originally.
Aṅgulibhaṅga * II. 26. Pointing at (in ridicule or contempt), censuring.
Animiṣa IX. 36. A deity. cf. Maṅkhakośa v. 915, p. 66.
Aṅkakāra [1] I. 43; VI. 17; [2] VII. 11. [1] Skilled warrior; [2] rival.
Aṅkapālī VI. 73; XIV. 63. An embrace.
Anubandha XX. 2. m. A prayer.
Anugatvarī XI. 41. Maid servant.
Anukāra XIX. 58; XX. 15. m. Imitation.
Anukarṣa XX. 6. Axle. cf. Maṅkhakośa v. 915-16, p. 66.
Anutarṣa XVI. 14; XVIII. 1. A drinking vessel. cf. Maṅkhakośa v. 916, p. 66.
Anusamayam XIX. 55. From time to time.
Apasmṛti XVI. 16. f. Agitation.
Apatrapiṣṇu XV. 19. a. Bashful.
Apatrapiṣṇutā XIV. 29. f. Bashfulness.
Āpīḍa * XVI. 23. m. Lot, Large quantity.
Apratna XXV. 20. New.
Āpluti XVIII. 53. f. Bathing.
Āpyāya XIX. 27. m. Rise, elevation.
Arāla III. 36; 47. a. Curved, crooked.
Araṇyānī XXV. 122. f. A large forest or desert, vast wilderness.
Arara X. 3; XI. 7 ; XXI. 45. m. n. The panel of a door.
Ārātrika VI. 25. n. A vessel waved round a person to avert evil effect.
Ārtvijīna V. 17. Fit for the office of a sacrificial priest.
Āsthānī XVII. 2. f. An assembly-room.
Ari XXII. 10. A wheel.
Arīṇa XIX. 64. Great.
Arṇas VI. 73. n. Water.
Āśaya VII. 55. Heart.
Āśaya XIV. 68. Belly.
Āsīdan XIX. 49. a. Being in the proximity.
Āskanda VI. 57. m. n. An attack, assault, assailing.

Āskandya XX. 5; XXIV. 39. Having stepped over.
Aśri XVIII. 43. f. The sharp side or edge (of a weapon etc.)
Āstyāna [1]III. 35; [2]V. 5. [1]Hardened; [2]freezed.
Āsūtrita XVI. 2. p.p. Done.
Āśyāna III. 11. p.p. Congealed, freezed.
Aṭṭālaka III. 3. m. An apartment on the roof of a house, an upper storey.
Avagraha III. 18. m. The failure or absence of rain, drought.
Avagrāha VI. 23. Used in the sense of Avagraha.
Avagrāhin XVII. 65. a. With dryness.
Avahelā XX. 54. f. To be accomplished with ease.
Avadaṃśa XIV. 67. m. A stimulant.
Avaṭa X. 28. m. A hole, cavity, a pit.
Āvarta XX. 22. m. A lock of hair curling backwards, especially on a horse; A whirlpool, an eddy.
Āvartya XX. 12. Having transformed.
Avaskandita II. 57. p.p. Obtained.
Avaśyāya X. 46. m. Frost, dew.
Baḍiśa XI. 2. n. A fish-hook.
Bahala XX. 22. a. Very much, abundant.
Bāhlīka XVI. 36; XXII. 56. n. Saffron.
Balibhuj XXII. 37. m. A crow.
Bandhura X. 14; XV. 23. a. Pleasing, beautiful, lovely.
Bha X. 18; XVI. 22. n. A star.
Bha XVII. 60. n. A constellation.
Bhogāvali VI. 55; XVI. 1. f. The panegyric of professional encomiasts or bards. For details see footnote no. 2 on p. 89.
Bhramaraka *XXIII. 53. Whirling movement.
Bhrami XVIII. 2. f. Whirling, circular motion.
Bhrāṣṭra *X. 61. Fire-place.
Bhrātṛvya X. 50. m. An enemy, adversary.
Bhujiṣya XVI. 58. m. Effecting accomplishment.
Bhujiṣyā XVII. 11. f. A maid-servant, female slave.
Bisara *XVIII. 56. Spreading.
Bubruḍe VIII. 2. Drowned.
Cakravāla XXIV. 32. n. Circle.
Cāmara XVI. 51. m. n. A chowrie.
Cāmīkara XV. 12. m. n. Gold.
Caṇa XI. 6; XV. 31; XVI. 40. a. Famous for, skilled in.
Cañcarīka X. 32. m. A large bee.
Cañcu XI. 28. a. Clever, celebrated.
Cañcura XV. 10. a. Engaged.

Caṇḍacāra XVIII. 38. a. Doing violent deeds.
Caṣaka VIII. 6 ; XIII. 52 ; XXIII. 54. m. n. A cup, wine-glass.
Caturam XII. 58. ind. Swift, quick.
Chidura XXI. 52. a. Cutting, easily breaking.
Cīnapiṣṭa XIV. 22 ; 46; XVI. 22; XIX. 56; XXIII. 15. n. Minium or red lead.
Cīnasicaya XI. 38. m. China cloth.
Citraśikhaṇḍin X. 57. m. pl. The seven Ṛṣis.
Citraśikhaṇḍin XVI. 25. m. pl. The seven Ṛṣis, variegated (lustre).
Cūrṇālaka XI. 36. m. n. A lock of hair.
Culakita * V. 8. p. p. Burnt, destroyed.
Culakita XVIII. 58. p.p. Drunk.
Cūrṇālaka VIII. 7. m. A curl.
Cyavamāna XIV. 40. a. Wet.
Dadhittha II. 48. m. Wood apple.
Daiśika XXV. 101 ; 103. mf(ī)n. Person belonging to another country.
Dākṣāyaṇī * XI. 41. f. (pl.) The 27 lunar mansions considered as daughters of Dakṣa and wives of the Moon, among whom Rohiṇi is the favourite.
Ḍambara XX. 2. m. Hurry, confusion.
Ḍambara XIX. 63. m. Multitude, mass.
Dānapati II. 40. m. Liberality-lord, munificent man.
Daṇḍapāda XXIV. 10. m. Name of a (dance pose) position of the foot lifted up keeping the knee directed towards the chest. A Karaṇa. See p. 62.
Dandaśūka III. 70 ; VII. 32 ; XX. 64. m. A snake.
Dantāvala XVI. 54. m. An elephant.
Dantura XIV. 41; XV. 42; XX. 18; XXI. 47. a. Pervaded by.
Dantura XXV. 18. a. Filled with.
Daśā * XVIII. 60. f. The fringe of a garment.
Davathu IX. 1 ; X. 43; XIV. 40; XXIV. 23. m. Heat.
Deśika XIV. 9. m. A teacher.
Dharmahastam X. 7. Offering one's hand to guarantee the truth of the promise founded on express statement.
Dhoraṇī III. 26; XII. 50; 95; XIV. 2; XVIII. 30. f. An uninterrupted series.
Dhuryapālī XX. 62. f. A row of horses four in number.
Dhvāntam XVI. 2; 19; 22; 23. n. Darkness.
Ḍiṇḍīra XVI. 3; XIX. 16. m. Foam.
Dīrṇa XVIII. 9. a. Torn, rent.
Dṛbdha * XIX. 59. Created, issued, made available.
Droṇikā XIX. 62. f. A water-reservoir.
Druhiṇa V. 4; 24. m. Name of Brahman (m.).
Druta XIV. 53. p.p. Melted, dissolved.

Durodara XVII. 52; XXIII. 29. n. Gambling.
Durvarṇa XI. 74. n. Silver.
Dvairājya III. 75; XVI. 2 n. A dominion divided between two kings.
Dyota XII. 64; 66; XIII. 45; XVI. 14. m. Light, lustre, brilliance.
Galvarka XVII. 1. m. A crystal.
Galvarkopala XXV. 39. m. The Moon-stone (supposed to ooze away under the influence of the moon.)
Gandhasāra X. 36. m. Sandal.
Gandhasindhura XIII. 4. m. The scent-elephant.
Garmut III. 24. f. A creeper.
Gārutmata V. 56; VI. 20. n. An emerald.
Ghanasāra XI. 40; XIII. 4; 7; 13. m. Camphor.
Gharaṭṭa X. 56. m. A grindstone.
Ghasmara XVII. 42. a. Devourer.
Ghaṭṭana X. 44. n. Disheartening.
Ghuṇāyamāna X. 44. Rolling, Whirling.
Ghusṛṇa XXII. 14; 16. n. Saffron.
Glaha XXIII. 29. m. The stake in playing at dice.
Glapana XVII. 12. n. Fading.
Goṣṭhi XVII. 55. f. An assembly, meeting.
Grahila VI. 41. a. Taking interest in, intent on, determined.
Gṛdhnu XIV. 5. a. Greedily desirous of.
Gula III. 5. m. Raw or unrefined sugar, molasses.
Gulaka XI. 52. m. A ball.
Gulikā XVI. 53. f. A pearl.
Guṇa XXV. 47. m. A cook; virtue.
Hantakāra II. 26. m. Sixteen mouthfuls of alms.
Hārahūraka XIV. 5; 21. m. A particular intoxicating beverage.
Haripada IV. 54. n. The sky.
Hālā XIV. 28. f. Spirituous liquor.
Hasantikā III. 29; VI. 15; XXII. 43. f. A portable fire-vessel, small fire-place.
Helā XXI. 49. f. Disrespect, contempt.
Helā XXIV. 34. f. Carelessness, ease.
Heti IX. 23; XX. 36. mf. A missile weapon, any weapon.
Heti XX. 51. f. A Flame.
Hetika XXIII. 28. m. With pride.
Hevāka XVI. 24. m. Ardent desire.
Indindira VI. 51; VII. 57; XVI. 15. m. A bee.
Indīrabindu XII. 72. m. A drop of frost.
Irāmañjarī *IV. 32 f. Name of a plant.
Itthaṃkāram XXIII. 48. ind. In this manner.

Jaḍatejas XVI. 2. m. The Moon.
Jaitra XXI. 45. m. A conqueror.
Jalamānuṣī IX. 13; 32. f. A mermaid.
Jalārdrā X. 46. f. A piece of cloth wet with water.
Jambāla II.10; III. 18. m. Mud.
Janī XXI. 42. f. A wife. cf. Maṅkhakośa v. 449, p. 33.
Jātavedas XVI. 26. m. An epithet of fire.
Jṛmbhā XIX. 60. f. Blossoming. cf. Maṅkhakośa v. 555, p. 40.
Jyotiriṅgaṇa XXII. 46. m. A fire-fly.
Kadambam XII. 67. n. A multitude.
Kādambarī XIV. 53. f. Spirituous liquor.
Kaḍāra XVIII. 19. mfn. Tawny.
Kāhala III. 51 ; XIX. 47. mfn. Speaking indistinctly.
Kāhalā XXIII. 5. f. The sound of a trumpet for inviting to a dinner.
Kāhalatā XXI. 11. f. The status of producing sounds.
Kākodara VI. 68. m. A serpent.
Kākṣekṣitam XX. 53. n. An angry side-long look.
Kaladhauta IX. 10; 43. n. Gold. cf. Maṅkhakośa v. 352, p. 26.
Kalaśī XIV. 20. f. A pitcher.
Kallola XII. 42; 49. m. A wave.
Kalmāṣa XII. 34; XIII.45. a. Variegated.
Kalpānta IV. 31; XX. 15. m. End of aeon.
Kamitṛ VII. 3; XII. 77; XV. 48. mfn. A husband.
Kandalī* XII. 28; XXV. 123. f. A creeper.
Kandalita X. 33. p.p. Put forth or emitted in abundance or simultaneously.
Kaṅkata XII. 14; XIII. 3 ; XX. 59; XXII. 42; XXIII. 11. m. A mail.
Kaṅkapattra XV. 22. m. An arrow furnished with a heron's feathers.
Kāpiśāyana XIV. 13; 17. n. Liquor.
Karaka XX. 15. mfn. Hail.
Karālita XII. 5. p.p. Shone.
Karaṅka* XII. 80. m. The skeleton.
Karaṭa XXII. 34; XXIII. 17. m. (1) An elephant's temple (2)* A crow.
Karikā XIV. 6. f. A water-vessel.
Kārmaṇa III. 12; 63. n. Subjugation by magic or sorcery.
Karpara XVI. 59. n. A pot, a pot-sherd.
Karpaṭa XV. 15. m. n. A piece of cloth.
Kaṭāha X. 61. m. A frying pan.
Kaṭaka XXI. 41 ; 43. m.n. An army.
Kaṭapra XXV. 87. m. Excess.
Kathaṃkāram XIV. 60. ind. Any how.
Naukṣeyaka XXIV. 5. m. A sword.

Kausīdya* XIX. 24 ; XX. 25. n. Indolence.
Kavalana X. 60. n. Devoured hence not found.
Kavoṣṇa VI. 7. a. Slightly warm, tepid.
Khela XI. 38. a. Slow.
Kheṭaka XXIII. 31. m. n. A shield.
Kīkasa XVIII. 44 ; XXIII. 18. m. A bone.
Kīla XXIV. 17. m. A flame.
Kīlā* XXIV. 24; 28. f. A flame.
Kilakiñcita XIV. 44. n. Amorous agitation (such as weeping, laughing, getting angry, merry etc.) in the company of a lover.
Khalinī II. 21. f. A collection of mischievous men.
Kokanada XIII. 1. n. A red lotus.
Koṇa XX. 65. m. A drum-stick.
Koṣṇa XI. 5 ; XXIV. 22. a. Luke-warm, tepid.
Kroḍa XVI. 40. n. A cavity.
Kṛtaka XIV. 66 ; XVII. 19. n. Feigned, assumed.
Kṣaṇadā XVI. 12; XX. 9. f. Night.
Kṣaudra I. 37. m. Honey.
Kṣoda II. 19. m. Dust.
Kṣoda II. 56. m. Scrutiny.
Kṣoda XVI. 58. m. Pounding, crushing.
Kṣveḍa XII. 65. m. Venom, poison.
Kūbarī XIX. 50; XX. 2. f. A carriage covered with a cloth or blanket.
Kūbarin XX. 11; 58; 61. m. A chariot.
Kuhara XIV. 53. n. A cavity, hollow.
Kuñcikā XIX. 1. f. A key.
Kuntala XIV. 2; 15; 20; 25; 30; 38; 41; 44; 53. m. A drinking cup.
Kurala XIII. 25. m. A curl, a lock of hair.
Kuruvinda III. 6. m. n. A ruby.
Kutha* XXV. 19, m. Coloured rug. cf. Maṅkhakośa v. 378, p. 28.
Kuṭṭana XIII. 39. n. Pounding.
Kuṭṭima XVII. 6 ; XVIII. 29; 56. m. n. An inlaid or paved floor.
Kvathat X. 59. Seething.
Kvathayitum X. 61. In order to boil.
Lalāṭikā[1] III. 1 ;[2] III. 42. f. 1. An ornament worn on the forehead. 2. A mark made with sandal or any other powder on the forehead.
Laṭabha XII. 63. mfn. Lovely.
Laṭabhā XI. 44 ; XIII. 25; 41 ; XV. 34. f. Beautiful woman.
Lauhitaka XIV. 50. m. A ruby.
Lekha VI. 51. m. A document.

Lekha III. 62. m. A deity.
Lekhā XX. 56. f. A streak.
Lipi XIII. 47. f. Strikingness.
Lipi XXII. 11; 35; 43; XXIII. 46; XXIV. 27. f. Resemblance.
Lipi III. 62; VI. 70; XII. 43; 64; XIV. 13; XIX. 52. f. Writing.
Lipi XIII. 28; XVI. 17. Alphabets, the written characters, letters.
Lohitaka XII. 40. m. A ruby.
Lulāya XXI. 42. m. A buffalo.
Luṇṭhana IX. 47. n. Plundering.
Luṇṭhāka V. 35. m. A robber.
Luṇṭhi VIII. 17; XVI. 36. f. Plundering.
Mādhava XII. 3. m. The spring season.
Mahaḥ XVI. 33. m. Light, lustre.
Malimluca II. 22; XIV. 9; XVII. 2. m. A robber, thief.
Mallikā XVI. 51. f. A lamp-stand.
Maṇḍala XII. 8. The disc of the moon. This word is generally used in the neuter gender but here the poet has used it in the masculine gender.
Maṇḍalāgra X. 48; XII. 71; XXII. 13; XXIV. 37. m. A bent sword, scimitar.
Maṅkha* XXIV. 44. m. A royal bard or panegyrist.
Maṅkṣu XI. 52; XXII. 18. ind. Immediately, quickly, soon.
Mantu* VII. 30; XIV. 57. m. Anger, resentment, indignation.
Mantu II. 53. m. Grief.
Marāla I. 35.; V. 19; IX. 37; XI. 14; 37; XVI. 30. m. A swan, goose.
Mārdvīka XIV. 55. n. Wine.
Masāra XV. 16. m. An emerald.
Mātha XVI. 46; XIX. 40. m. Killing, destruction.
Mecaka I. 55; XI. 30; XXII. 17; 33; XXV. 143. a. Black.
Mecaka XIV. 43. a. Dark-blue.
Medura XVI. 25. a. Thick, dense.
Mihira XVI. 16; XXIII. 16. m. The sun.
Mṛdha XVIII. 26. n. War, battle, fight.
Mudrā X. 49; XII. 64. f. A seal.
Mudrā XXIV. 38; XVI. 40. f. A mark.
Mudrā XXIV. 40. f. Restriction.
Mudrā XVI. 20. f. Closing. (Nirmudra—unfaded, blossomed)
Mudira XXIII. 24. m. A cloud.
Mukura IX. 56; X. 58; XIII. 17. m. A mirror.
Mukhadhātu XXIII. 36. m. Red lead.
Nāḍiṃdhama I. 31. m. A goldsmith.
Nadīṣṇa XVIII. 55. m. Clever.

Nadīṣṇatā XXV. 71. f. Cleverness.
Nāgaraṅga III. 5. m. The orange. cf. Gujarati word Nāraṅgī.
Narīnarti XXV. 139. Frequentative. Dances excessively.
Nāsīra* XV. 5. m. Camphor. cf. कर्पूरे पुंसि नासीरो...मङ्खकोश v. 765, p. 55.
Nāsīra XXI. 44. m. The front of an army.
Nāsīra XX. 63. n. Front portion of an army.
Netratribhāga XIV. 64. m. Side glances.
Nibirīsa* XVIII. 4. mfn. Dense, Thick.
Nicola X. 52. m. A cover, wrapper.
Niḥsaha XVII. 56. a. Tormented.
Nikhāta XV. 48. p.p. Fixed, infixed.
Nikvaṇa III. 58. m. A sound.
Nikuramba XVIII. 40. n. A flock, collection, multitude.
Nimita IX. 18; XIII. 9. mfn. Steady, fixed.
Nimita XIX. 64. m. Destined.
Nīrājanā XIX. 4; XX. 44. f. Circular waving of lights.
Nīrandhra I. 10; XII. 72; XVI. 14; XXIV. 5. a. Compact.
Nīrandhra V. 7; 10; XV. 14; 25; XVII. 44; XX. 5. a. Thick, dense.
Nīraṅgikā* III. 25; IV. 29. f. A veil.
Nirjara XVII. 11. m. A deity, god.
Nirjihāna XXII. 7. a. Rendered.
Niṣpaṃda XXIV. 42. a. Current.
Nirlvayinī XV. 3. f. The slough of a snake.
Nistuṣa XIX. 44. a. Faultless.
Nistuṣatva II. 7. n. The circumstance of being faultless.
Nīvī* XXV. 74. f. Model.
Niyoga XXI. 37. m. A commission.
Nyāda XX. 28. m. Eating, feeding.
Nyādatā XXIV. 13. f. The circumstance of being a dinner.
Nyakkāra XVI. 50. m. Humiliation, disregard.
Nyañc XXIV. 44. mfn. Bent down.
Pakṣapāli XI. 38. f. The root of a wing.
Pakṣati XXV. 34. f. The root of a wing.
Paktrima XVI. 54. a. Ripe, ripened.
Pālī I. 35; VIII. 24; XXII. 58. f. A row.
Pālī* VII. 22. f. Good, attractive.
Paṇa XX. 1. m. The thing staked.
Paṅkeruha* XXV. 39. m.n. Sinner, Lotus. Cf. मङ्खकोश- पङ्केरुहं कर्दमैनसोः। v. 16, p. 2.
Pārī XIV. 5. f. A drinking vessel.
Paribhūti IV. 43. f. Insult, disrespect, humiliation.
Parigraha XIX. 61. m. A household, family.

Parikarma XIII. 1. n. Personal decoration.

Parikarma XX. 37. n. (In yoga philosophy) A means of purifying the mind.

Pāriplava I. 21; XVIII. 31; XXI. 53. a. Moving, rolling, unsteady, tremulous, shaking.

Parisamūhana V. 6; X. 47. n. Sprinkling water (in a particular way) round the sacrificial fire.

Parisara XIV. 63. m. Neighbourhood.

Pariskanda XX. 31; 32. a. Fostered by another.

Pariṣkāra XVII. 64. m. Decoration, embellishment.

Parisrut XIV. 34; 35. f. A kind of intoxicating liquor.

Parivṛḍha XVI. 13; XXIV. 41. m. A master, owner, head, chief.

Pārvaṇa XV. 31. a. Increasing (as the moon).

Pataṃga XX. 9. m. The Sun.

Paṭavāsa XIX. 2. m. A kind of perfumed powder.

Pāthas V. 6; 51; XVI. 38; 46. n. Water.

Pāthodhara XIX. 57. m. A cloud.

Paṭiman XIII. 20. m. Harshness, roughness.

Patrin XXIV. 33. m. An arrow.

Pattra V. 25; VI. 11; XX. 29; 63; XXI. 40; XXV. 121. n. A vehicle in general (car, horse, camel etc.) cf. पत्त्रं तु वाहने ।...मङ्खकोश v. 706, p. 51.

Pattraka XV. 32. n. A plate (usually of copper) on which a grant of land etc. is inscribed.

Pecaka XXII. 33. m. An owl.

Peṭaka I. 55. m. A multitude.

Pīṭhī XVI. 2. f. A stool.

Ploṣa XXIII. 50. m. Burning, combustion.

Poṣa XIV. 31. m. Increase.

Prabandha XII. 72. m. Continuity, uninterrupted series or succession.

Prābhṛta II. 45. n. An offering to a deity or to a king.

Prācya XVII. 44. a. Situated in front.

Pradhanam XVII. 36. n. A fight, war.

Prāgbhāra XVIII. 58. Multitude, heap, quantity.

Prahva XVI. 39. a. Bowing humbly down.

Pramātha XVI. 46. m. Killing, destruction.

Pramaya XXIV. 22. m. Death.

Praṇāla XIX. 58. m. Succession, uninterrupted series.

Prasara XVIII. 32. m. Exercise. cf. व्यायामे प्रसरो ... मङ्खकोश v. 754, p. 55.

Prasannā XIII. 52; XIV. 14; 54; XXIII. 54. f. Spirituous liquor.

Prasava XIV. 17. m. Flower, blossom.

Prasṛamara XXIV. 32. a. Flowing forth, dropping, distilling.

Prasṛti XI. 24. f. The palm of the hand stretched out and hollowed.

Pratāninī VI. 34. f. A spreading creeper.
Prātastya XVI. 24. a. Matutinal.
Pratibhū IX. 50; X. 24. a. Similar.
Pratibhū XIII. 49;XV. 13 ; XVI. 57; XX. 7. m. A bail, surety, bondsman.
Pratibhū* XVIII. 13. m. An Antagonist.
Pratihati XVII. 23. f. Obstruction.
Pratikalam XVI. 52. Ind. At every moment *i.e.* often.
Pratimita XIV. 11; 63. mfn. Reflected.
Pratinava XVII. 1. mfn. Extra-ordinary.
Prathamāna XIV. 57. a. Wellknown.
Pratiphāla* IX. 12; 48. n. A Reflection.
Pratiphalana XI. 17. n. A reflection.
Pratiphalat XI. 14; 19; XIII. 46. Being reflected.
Pratipālana IX. 12. n. Waiting.
Pratisvam XIII. 46. ind. 'each for itself', one's own singly.
Pratiyātanā III. 16; XV. 13. f. A reflection.
Pratyarthin XVIII. 31. mfn. Hostile, inimical.
Prāvāra XV. 47; XVII. 41. m. An upper garment, mantle.
Pravisṛmara XXIII. 8. Spreading.
Preṅkhā VII. 51; 64. f. A Swing.
Preṅkhat XXIV. 11. a. Quivering.
Preṅkhola VII. 51; XVIII. 14. m. Shaking.
Preṅkholat I. 47. Active.
Preṅkhayat XXIV. 34. Carrying.
Prodghāta* XV. 34. In the beginning.
Pṛṣadaśva VI. 60 ; VIII. 3. m. Wind, air.
Pṛṣat V. 6; VIII. 9; XXV. 146. n. A drop of water or any other liquid (said to be used only in plural.)
Pṛṣata I. 31; XVIII. 47. m. A drop of water.
Pṛṣatka XX. 40; 41. m. An arrow.
Pūga XXV. 76. m. An association. The areca or betelnut tree.
Pulinda XI. 2. m. A man of a barbarous tribe.
Puṇḍraka XVI. 37. m. A sectarian mark.
Puras X. 35. The eastern direction.
Purogava V. 12. m. Head (of cooks), Kitchen in charge.
Pūṣadṛṣad XVI. 5. f. The Sun stone, Sun crystal.
Pūṣan XX. 13. m. The Sun.
Puṭa XIV. 65. n. Any shallow receptacle.
Puṭaka XVI. 22. n. A lotus leaf.

Puṭapāka XI. 4. m. That method of preparing drugs, in which the various ingredients are wrapped up in leaves and are covered with clay and then roasted in the fire.

Puṣpavat XIX. 34;

Puṣpavantau* XXV. 132. m. The Sun and Moon. Cf. एकयोक्त्या पुष्पवन्तौ दिवाकरनिशाकरौ । ..मङ्खकोश v. 340, p. 25. Jonarāja quotes the above line in XIX. 34 with the remark इत्यमरः.

Rajanipayas XVI. 6. Frost, dew.

Raṅgat*[1] XIV. 63;[2] XIX. 54. a. 1. Throbbing, 2. Flashing, Shining.

Raṅku I. 47. m. A deer, an antelope.

Rasāyu III. 58; VI. 55. m. A large black bee.

Rāśi XI. 72. m. A sign of the zodiac.

Raśmi XX. 2. m. A bridle, rein.

Rekhā XX. 14. f. A limit, boundary.

Rīḍhā XVIII. 11. f. Disrespect, contempt, irreverence.

Rīti* II. 6. f. Brass.

Rohat XVI. 53. a. Growing.

Rora* VI. 13. Rarity, scarcity.

Śabala XII. 31. a. Variegated.

Sadajina XXIV. 25. n. An elephant-hide.

Sadvāṇinī II. 53. f. A good she messenger.

Śailūṣa XXIV. 15. m. An actor.

Śamana XXII. 40; XXIII. 29; 32.m. Name of Yama.

Samāsatti XXIII. 51. f. Nearness, vicinity.

Samavartin V. 21. God of death.

Saṃdhā XXI. 43. f. A vow.

Sāmi XI. 74. ind. Partially, half.

Samīkam XVIII. 24; 32. n. War, battle.

Śamin XII. 16. a. One who has subdued his passions.

Saṃnāha XIX. 21. m. Armour, mail.

Saṃśīti XXIII. 39. f. Doubt.

Samudga XV. 37. m. A covered box or casket.

Saṃvartaka XX. 12; 14. m. A kind of clouds appearing at the time of universal destruction.

Saṃvid XIV. 28. f. Knowledge, understanding.

Saṃvid XVI. 32. f. Consciousness, perception.

Śamyā XX. 17. f. The pin of a yoke.

Saṃyat XVIII. 58. mfn. Contest, strife, battle, war.

Sāṃyātrika XII. 51. m. Ship-merchant, a voyaging merchant.

Sanīḍam XVI. 24. n. Near.

Śāntaruci XIV. 40. a. Black coloured.

Sapītī XIV. 23. f. Drinking together or in company.
Sapratyabhijñam XIII. 46. n. With recognition.
Saptatantu XXIV. 25. m. A sacrifice.
Sara XXI. 41. m. A string, necklace. Cf. Gujarati word Sera.
Sāraṅgaketu X. 42. m. The moon.
Śāratā XVI. 29. f. Variety of colour.
Sāraṇī XII. 27; XIX. 23.f. A drain, channel, water-course.
Saraṇi XVI. 22. f. A path, way.
Sarasvat III. 3. m. The ocean.
Śāri XXIII. 29. f. An elephant's saddle. Board for playing dice.
Śārita IV. 24; X. 16; 38; XIV. 11; XXII. 25. mfn. Variegated, coloured.
Śārṅga XXI. 42. m.n. A bow.
Sārasana XII. 48. n. A girdle.
Śātakumbha XIV. 20. n. Gold.
Śātatā XII. 67. f. Sharpness.
Śalāṭu II. 48. mfn. Unripe.
Savanaliḥ XVII. 44. m. A god.
Śayālu V. 30. mfn. Sleepy, slothful.
Śayālu VI. 68. mfn. Residing.
Śefālikā XI. 36. f. A kind of jasmine.
Śemuṣī II. 50. f. Intellect.
Sfūrjathu XIX. 12. m. Thunder-clap.
Sicaya VII. 39; XX. 27 ; XXI. 47. m. Cloth, garment.
Sidhu XII. 38; XIV. 9; 40; 60; 63; 68; XXII. 25. m. Spirit distilled from molasses; rum.
Śikhin XVI. 25; XVIII. 48. m. Fire.
Śīlita X. 29; XIX. 32. mfn. Practised, exercised.
Sīmantita XVI. 33. mfn. Parted.
Śirastra XX. 59. n. Head-protector, a helmet.
Śilīmukha XIV. 10. m. A bee.
Sitacchada VII. 64. m. A goose.
Śleṣa XVI. 41. m. Connection.
Smaya XXI. 43; XXII. 3. m. Arrogance, conceit, pride.
Smayana XIV. 38. n. Gentle laughter.
Smayavatī VI. 31. f. A lady possessing arrogance due to cupid.
Śoṇ X. 17. To become red.
Śoṇa XVI. 40. a. Red, crimson.
Sphāra XVII. 6; XXII. 58. mfn. Extensive.
Spṛhayālu VI. 65. a. Disposed to be desirous or envious of, longing for, covetous.
Śrānti IX. 1. f. Fatigue.

Stamberama XIX. 63. m. An elephant.

Sthāsaka IV. 5; X. 24. m. A mark made with unguents on the forehead. Cf. Maṅkhakośa v. 139, p. 11.

Ṣṭhyūta XXIV. 20. p.p. Vomitted.

Stoma XVI. 6; XXIV. 8; 16; 30. m. A multitude.

Śuci VII. 30. m. The month of Āṣāḍha. In Kumārasambhava V. 20 this word is used in the sense of Grīṣma.

Suhitatā * X. 4. f. Satisfaction.

Suparvan XIV. 12; XVI. 56; XIX. 40; 44; 60; XXI. 12; 24. m. A god, deity.

Śūra * XXIV. 37. m. The Sun.

Śuṣman XXIV. 29. m. Fire.

Śvayathu X. 10. m. Swelling.

Syada XVI. 10; XXI. 37; 39. m. Speed, rapid motion.

Tāmarasa V. 24; XVI. 30. n. The red lotus.

Tamī IV. 50; X. 49; XI. 36; 69; XII. 54; XVI. 5. f. Night.

Tānavam XIX. 36. n. Thinness.

Ṭaṅka XII. 69. n. Beauty.

Ṭaṅka II. 11; V. 49; VI. 30; XI. 11. m.n. Excellence.

Ṭaṅka XXII. 42. m. Similar.

Ṭaṅkana X. 56. n. Resemblance.

Tānti XXIV. 40. f. Fatigue.

Tanutra XII. 1; 12. n. An armour.

Tapas III. 8; IV. 56. m. The month of Māgha. Cf. मङ्खकोश-तपस्तु शिशिरे माघे.. । v. 928, p. 67.

Tapanīya XIV. 41; XVIII. 33. n. Gold purified with fire.

Tarala VIII. 43; XIII. 41. m. The central gem of a necklace.

Taraṇi VII. 11. m. The Sun. Cf. मङ्खकोश-अर्के तरणिः पुमान् । v. 242, p. 18.

Taravāri XVIII. 25; 49. m. A one edged sword.

Tarkuka* VIII. 15. A suppliant, petitioner.

Ṭarṣuka* III. 9. Wishing.

Ṭhaka* VI. 33. A cheat.

Timyat XVIII. 20. Becoming wet.

Tokam XVI. 47. n. Offspring, child.

Trayī XXV. 87; 89. f. The triad of fires.

Tulākoṭi I. 19; VII. 64. m. An anklet. Cf. मङ्खकोष-तुलाकोटिर्मानभेदेर्बुदे स्यान्नूपुरे पुमान् ।... v. 182, p. 14.

Tūlikā XIII. 26. f. A small stick (used in applying collyrium to the eye.)

Tulita XXIV. 1. p.p. Counterbalanced, outweighed.

Tuṭi* XVI. 12. f. Moment. Cf. सूक्ष्मैलायां तुटिः स्त्री स्यात्कालेल्पे संशये तथा । मङ्खकोश v. 157, p. 12.

Ucculumpana XIV. 12. m. Drinking.

Uḍḍamara XVIII. 38; 44; XX. 12. a. Stirring, exciting.

Uḍḍamarita XIX. 53. mfn. Stirred up, excited.

Uḍḍamarita XXIV. 35. mfn. Manifested.

Ulbaṇa XVIII. 55. mfn. Strong, great.

Ullekha XII. 27. m. Ploughing.

Ullekha XVI. 9. m. Beauty.

Ullekhavatī XIV. 63. f. She who is endowed with deliberation or reasoning *i.e.* a woman. उल्लेख ऊहनं विद्यते यासाम् । जोनराज.

Ullola* XII. 36; 64; XIX. 54 m. A large wave or surge.

Umbhita VII. 58. a. Studded with.

Uṇḍūka * XXIV. 32. m. A round mass or ball. Cf. मङ्खकोश v. 70, p. 6.

Unmadiṣṇu * XII. 47. a. Pure.

Unmālaka I. 3. For handing over a present.

Upadā[1] VIII. 46; IX. 51;[2] XXII. 39. f. 1 A present, An offering to a great man. 2 A bribe.

Upadhāna XI. 66; XV. 9. n. A pillow.

Upakāra XVI. 14. m. Bed.

Upakāra XV. 2; XVII. 4; XXIV. 4. A flower-bed.

Upānta XX. 6 a. In the eleventh house (in a horoscope).

Upapatti XVII. 23. f. Nyāya Philosophy.

Uparāga XVIII. 30. m. An eclipse of the sun or moon. Cf. मङ्खकोश v. 128-29, p. 10.

Upaśalya XVII. 12. n. In the vicinity.

Upasarga XXIV. 15. m. Outrage, violence.

Upaskriyā * XXIV. 39. Beauty.

Upaskṛti II. 56. f. Transferring quality.

Ūrmikā XVIII. 2; 21; 33. f. A finger-ring.

Utka XXIV. 31. a. Desirous of.

Utkalikā IX. 15. f. Little ripples. Cf. मङ्खकोश v. 90, p. 7.

Utkara XVIII. 33; XXIV. 13. m. Multitude.

Utkhāta XXIV. 1. p.p. Drawn out.

Uṭṭaṅkayat XX. 12. Making.

Vāhadviṣat XX. 20. m. A buffalo.

Vaijayanti VII. 66. f. A banner, flag.

Vaikṛta XIV. 23. n. Change, modification.

Vaiśasa XIX. 46; XXI. 8; XXII. 30; XXIII. 51. n. Distress.

Vaitālika XVI. 57; XXIV. 42. m. A bard, minstrel.

Vajragulaka XI. 1. n. A sort of weapon.

Valabhī III. 72; XVI. 8. f. The topmost part (of a house).

Valakṣa I. 21; XXII. 24. a. White.

Vamathu XXI. 8; XXIV. 26. m. Water ejected by an elephant from his trunk.

Vaṃśajalatā XIII. 42. Pearl necklace.

Vāravāṇa XX. 55. m. n. Armour, a coat of mail.

Varṣma XXIII. 41; 52. n. The body.

Varṣman XXIII. 28. n. Body.

Varūtha XX. 5; 15. n. A sort of wooden fence with which a chariot is provided as a defence against collision.

Vaśaṃvada XVII. 34; 38; XXV. 145. a. Submissive, subject, under the influence of.

Vāsi XVII. 51. m. f. A chisel.

Vāśitam XIX. 59. n. Yell.

Vataṃsa VII. 9; XIII. 29. m.n. Anything that serves as an ornament.

Vellat XVII. 4. Shaking, trembling.

Veśanta XVI. 22. m. A small pond, pool.

Vetanam XIX. 28. n. Livelihood, subsistence.

Vicakila VI. 70; VII. 4; 23; XII. 97. m. A kind of jasmine.

Vidhuṃtuda XXI. 36. m. Name of Rāhu.

Vidhura [1]XX. 65; [2]XXIII. 42. a. 1 Afflicted, miserable. 2 Cruel.

Vidhurakriyā II. 18. f. Accusation.

Vidhuratā XV. 46. f. Destruction of natural form.

Vighasa XXIII. 11. m. Morsel.

Vījana XXIV. 34. n. Flash.

Vikūṇita XXI. 9. a. Contracted.

Vimāna [1]X. 28; XVI. 30; [2]XX. 17; 32. m. n. 1 A heavenly car (moving through the skies). 2 A chariot.

Vimudra XIX. 45. a. Open.

Vipakṣa XIV. 56. m. A co-wife.

Vipañcana V. 40. Expansion.

Vipañcyamāna XVIII. 24. Being produced.

Vipruṣ [1]IV. 64; [2]X. 37; [2]XII. 35; [1]XIV. 46; [1]XIX. 15; [2]XXI. 22; [1]XXIV. 42; [2]XXV. 16; [2]119; [2]145. f. 1 A drop of water. 2 Particles.

Vīpsā XV. 27; 48; XVI. 54; XVIII. 56; XXIII. 9; XXIV. 2. f. Frequently, again and again.

Viṣa XXII. 54. n. Water, poison.

Viśākha I. 42. m. Name of Kārtikeya.

Viśaṅkaṭa XVI. 20; XVIII. 7; XXI. 4; XXIII. 19. a. Large.

Viśarāru XVIII. 53. a. Highly injurious.

Viśeṣaka III. 6; XV. 43. m. n. A mark on the forehead with sandal, saffron etc.

Viśokā I. 27. f. Mohini form (of Viṣṇu).

Visra XIX. 59. n. A smell like that of raw meat.

Viśrāṇana XXIV. 35. n. Giving away, bestowing.
Visṛmara IX. 15; XI. 13; XII. 64; XVII. 1; 44. a. Spreading forth.
Viśṛṅkhala XIX. 48. a. Unbearable.
Visṛtvara XI. 43; XXI. 30. a. Spreading about, being diffused.
Viṣṭapa XIX. 48; 65. m.n. A world.
Viṣṭara XVII. 9; 10. m. A Seat, a chair.
Vīṭaka XV. 7. n. A preparation of the Areca nut with spices and lime rolled up together in a leaf of the betel plant.
Vitāna XXIV. 4. m. n. A canopy.
Vitānaka XV. 9. m. n. A canopy.
Vitaṅka XVII. 6. m. The loftiest point.
Viṭaṅka XXIII. 18. a. Protruding.
Vīthī XVI. 22. f. A road, way.
Vītihotra I. 13; XXIV. 26. m. Fire.
Vivaraṇa XVI. 57. n. Displaying, unfolding laying bare.
Vraścana XXII. 10. n. Cutting, wounding.
Vṛndāraka I. 34; V. 1; 54. m. A deity. Cf. मङ्खकोश v. 90, p. 7.
Vyatikara XIX. 61. m. Contact.
Vyāvalgana XIV. 63. n. Moving about.
Vyāvalgat XV. 42. Pres. P. Playfully moving.
Yāmika VI. 74. m. One on guard at night.
Yāvaka IV. 61. m. n. Red lac.
Yuga XX. 12. m. n. A yoke.
Yuga XX. 14; 15; 16. n. A yoke, an age of the world.
Zañzā XVIII. 47. f. The noise of the wind or of falling rain.
Zāṃkṛtam XVIII. 31. n. A low murmuring sound, as the buzzing of bees.

APPENDIX V

Peculiar Grammatical Forms etc.

Compounds

Kākaghūkam XXII. 36.
Mitampaca VI. 40.
Nakhānakhi XII. 92.
Pratikṣapam XII. 30.
Sasauṣṭhavaṃmanya VI. 46.
Vācaṃyama II. 46.

Pāre-Madhye Compounds

Madhyebimbaṃ XII. 63.
Madhyedinaṃ XVII. 64.
Madhyekṛtya XXIV. 39.
Madhyelikaṃ XVI. 37.
Madhyenabhaḥ VI. 56.
Madhyeriśastraśayanīyaṃ XXII. 52.
Madhyesabhaṃ XIII. 46.
Madhyesīdhu XIV. 63.
Madhyevāridhi XVI. 3.
Pāreskandhaṃ XV. 45.

Taddhita Formations

Adhiśayālu IV. 62.
Ahaṃyu III. 2; VI. 65.
Ātmanīna VI. 73.
Kallolitacara XXIV. 31.
Maṅgalya XIX. 47.
Mauhūrtika XII. 39.
Nimagnacara V. 23.
Pītacara XVIII. 24; 32; XX. 19; XXV. 144.
Śayālu V. 30; VI. 68.
Spṛhayālu VI. 66.
Traiyakṣa I. 54.
Ujzitacara XII. 68.

Frequentatives

Bobhavītu XII. 61.
Narīnarti XXV. 139.

Ṇamul Forms

Darśaṃ Darśaṃ XVI. 4; XIX. 64; XX. 60; XXII. 57; XXIV. 6.
Dhyāyaṃ Dhyāyaṃ XXII. 53.
Majjaṃ Majjaṃ XV. 43.
Pāyaṃ Pāyaṃ XIV. 67.
Smāraṃ Smāraṃ XVI. 43.

'Tara' - 'Tama' Forms

(After verbal forms)

Jajñetarām XXI. 52.
Rohatutarāṃ XXV. 140.

Words used with a change of gender

Daivata (used in masculine) XXIII. 39.
Maṇḍala („) XII. 8.

Passive Aorist Forms

Adarśi XXI. 35.
Adhyaśāyi XII. 44.
Ajani XV. 24.
Ajñāyi XII. 49.
Akathi XVII. 25.
Alambhi XXIII. 37.
Anvabhāvi VIII. 25.
Anvamodi XIV. 16.
Anvarodhi XII. 7.
Āpi XIV. 40.
Arodi XXII. 47.
Asarji XIII. 8.
Asfoṭi X. 53.
Avādi XIII. 49.
Avalgi V. 14.
Niramajji IX. 42.
Praikṣi IX. 29.
Prāpi IX. 27; X. 6; XXII. 11.
Udalaṅghi XX. 14.
Udaṭaṅki XVIII. 27; XXIII. 46.
Vyaloki VIII. 17; XXI. 33.

Kyaṅ Forms

Gaganāyitaṃ IX. 24.
Kalpadrumāyitam XXV. 32.
Ojāyate IV. 59.
Tilataṇḍulāyitam X. 40.

Uncommon Roots

√Ānḍoli (Ānḍolitānāṃ) XII. 52.
√Culump (Ucculumpyatām) & (Ucculumpya) XII. 35; XVII. 55.
However this root is used by Bhavabhūti in his Mahāvīra-carita V. 8.
√Preṅkhol (Preṅkholat) I. 47.

A list of idiomatic expressions

Aṅgulibhaṅgapātram II. 26.
Antare Kṛtvā XIX. 16.
Dharmahastamamutaḥ kilāgrahīt X. 7.
Katareṇa pathātha jeṣyasi XII. 20.
Khalu viracayya tadvratāni XVII. 51.
Satṛṇābhyavahāri II. 28.
Tṛṇāya mene VI. 41.
Viśvaṃ dārumayena jetumasinā jṛmbhate II. 46.

APPENDIX VI

Metres in the Order of Preponderance—

1.	Vasantatilakā	248
2.	Anuṣṭubh	202
3.	Upajāti	188
4.	Śārdūlavikrīḍita	154
5.	Vaṃśasthavila	123
6.	Rathoddhatā	86
7.	Mandākrāntā	70
8.	Puṣpitāgrā	64
9.	Praharṣiṇī	59
10.	Vaitālīya - Aupacchandasika	58
11.	Mañjubhāṣiṇī	57
12.	Sragdharā	55
13.	Udgatā	45
14.	Pramitākṣarā	41
15.	Aparavaktra	36
16.	Svāgatā	36
17.	Indravajrā	33
18.	Mālinī	21
19.	Śikhariṇī	18
20.	Hariṇī	13*
21.	Viyoginī	13
22.	Pṛthvī	6
23.	Āryā	3
24.	Upendravajrā	3
25.	Madhyakṣāmā	1
26.	Meghavisfūrjitā	1
27.	Nardaṭaka	1
28.	Rucirā	1

* One more metre which is neither defined nor named in standard works on Sanskrit prosody like Śrutabodha and Vṛttaratnākara also covers up as many as thirteen stanzas. For details see folder.

APPENDIX VII

मङ्खकाव्यानि

Stanzas attributed to Maṅkha

अहीनभुजगाधीशवपुर्वलयकङ्कणम् ।
शैलादिनन्दिचरितं क्षतकन्दर्पदर्पकम् ॥

This stanza is attributed to Maṅkha in the edition of Alaṅkārasarvasva by T. Gaṇapati Shastri TSS. XL.

किं नाम दर्दुर दुरध्यवसाय सायं
कायं निपीड्य निनदं कुरुषे रुषेव ।
एतानि केलिरसितानि सितच्छदाना-
माकर्ण्य कर्णमधुराणि न लज्जितोऽसि ॥

सूक्तिमुक्तावली No. 49. P. 128.

This stanza is attributed to some anonymous in सदुक्तिकर्णामृत 4.26.3 p. 243.

वृषपुङ्गवलक्ष्माणं शिखिपावकलोचनम् ।
ससर्वमङ्गलं नौमि पार्वतीसखमीश्वरम् ॥

This stanza is attributed to Maṅkha in the edition of Alaṅkārasarvasva by T. Gaṇapati Shastri TSS. XL.

APPENDIX VIII

Śrīkaṇṭhacarita in the Anthologies

Ajñātapāṇḍitya (II. 5): SSV. 169.
Āli (XI. 52): SSV. 1119.
Ambudher (XI. 58): SSV. 1124.
Aṃśavastava (XI.57): SSV. 1123.
Arthósti Cenna (II. 30): SSV. 176.
Atyarthavakratvam (II. 14): SSV. 174.
Digdakṣiṇārkaṃ (VI. 9): SSV. 1662.
Indindirair (VI. 51): SSV. 1659.
Kālakūṭamadhunā (XI. 56): SSV. 1122.
Kālakūṭamiha (XI. 54): SSV. 1121.
Kāvyāmṛtaṃ durjana (II. 2): SSV. 172.
Kena krameṇa svidathādvitīyā (XII. 89): SSV. 1446.
Kiṃ nu kālagaṇanāpatermaṣī (X. 19): SSV. 1930.
Koṭare (XI. 53): SSV. 1120.
Matkāryasiddhyai (XII. 87): SSV. 1444.
Nakhānakhi (XII. 92): SSV. 1448.
Naṭaśātakaumbha (XIV. 20): SSV. 2023.
Nīcastanotvaśru (II. 19): SSV. 175.
Padmanābha karuṇāṃ (XI. 61): SSV. 1127.
Palāśaraktārdranakhe (VI. 8): SSV. 1661.
Paraślokān (II. 51): SSV. 179.
Pāyāt (Jīyāt) kṛtānaṅga (I. 1): SMV. 18.13.
Rātrirāja (XI. 59): SSV. 1125.
Saṃspṛśya taṃ (XII. 88): SSV. 1445.
Sarasvatīmātur (II. 27): SSV. 170.
Ślāghyaiva (II. 34): SSV. 177.
Sva eva (XII. 90): SSV. 1447.
Tvadyātrāsamaye (XXV. 126): SSV. 2512.
Vinā na sāhityavidā (II. 12): SSV. 173.
Vitīrṇaśikṣā (II. 1): SSV. 171.
Vivṛṇvatā (VI. 13): SSV. 1660.
Yātāste (II. 42): SSV. 178.
Ye gātre yayu (VI. 65): SSV. 1663.
Yuktamāha (XI. 60): SSV. 1126.

APPENDIX IX

A List of Subhāṣitas

१ अधौतवस्त्रे चतुरं कथं वा विभाव्यते कज्जलबिन्दुपातः ॥ २.९

२ अनेकशोऽहं विमृशन्नपीत्थं खलं न वेद्मि स्थिरमस्थिरं वा ।
सत्यं स्थिरश्चेत्क्षणसौहृदः किमथास्थिरः किं युगदीर्घरोषः ॥ २.२४

३ आलम्बते तत्क्षणमम्भसीव विस्तारमन्यत्र न तैलबिन्दुः ॥ २.१२

४ किं वान्यद्गुणनद्धापि बद्धापि रसवर्त्मनि ।
रहिता कर्णधारेण सूक्तिर्नौरिव सीदति ॥ २५.१०

५ को नाम तीव्रपवनागममन्तरेण
भेदेन वेत्ति शिखिदीपमणिप्रदीपौ ॥ २.३७

६ चामीकरस्य सौरभ्यमम्लानिर्मालतीस्रजाम् ।
श्रोतुर्निर्मत्सरत्वं च निर्माणागोचरं विधेः ॥ २५.११

७ त्वयि प्रसन्ने मम किं गुणेन त्वय्यप्रसन्ने मम किं गुणेन ।
रक्ते विरक्ते च वरेऽङ्गनानां मिथ्यैव नेपथ्यविशेषभङ्गिः ॥ २५.१२८

८ धर्महस्तममुतः किलाग्रहीत् । १०.७

९ धिक्तान्कृतप्लुतिर्येषां भारत्यधिसरस्वति ।
स्वं दूषयति मत्तेव नृपचाटुकपांसुभिः ॥ २५.८

१० न रत्नमायाति हि निर्मलत्वं शाणोपलारोपणमन्तरेण ॥ २.७

११ परानपेक्षो विजयः पिनाकिनस्तथापि संवर्मयति स्म तच्चमूः ।
तमोंऽशुमात्रेण विविघ्नतो रवेः पुरोऽर्ककान्तैरपि किं न दीप्यते ॥ २१.३

१२ प्रार्थिताः सन्तः किं न दद्युर्हि याचते । २५.११८

१३ महत्कष्टमहो हित्वा यच्छर्वं सर्वतःश्रुतिम् ।
गर्वानवधिबाधिर्यो नरेण स्तूयते नरः ॥ २५.६

१४ यत्किमप्यस्ति मूर्खाणाममात्सर्यं तु सूक्तिषु ।
तत्कोपयोगि सौन्दर्यं षण्ढस्येव पुरंध्रिषु ॥ २५.१२

१५ वितीर्णशिक्षा इव हृत्पदस्थसरस्वतीवाहनराजहंसैः ।
ये क्षीरनीरप्रविभागदक्षा विवेकिनस्ते कवयो जयन्ति ॥ २.१

१६ सतां बतासाधुरबाधितोऽपि बद्धावधानो विधुरक्रियासु ।
यत्क्रौर्यवादेन जितोऽहिवर्गो ह्रियेव पातालतलं विवेश ॥ २.१८

१७ सदैव सत्संगमसंमुखोऽपि खलः स्वचर्यां न जहाति जातु ।
कृत्वापि सूर्याश्रयणं प्रयत्नाद्राहुर्गतः किं विबुधत्वयोगम् ॥ २.३

१८ सन्तो नैसर्गिकमधुरिमोपोढवार्तामुहूर्तं
नन्वाहार्यां खलनिकृतये विक्रियामाद्रियन्ते ॥ २४.३८

१९ सा वैदुषी फलं यस्या न परोपकृतेः परम् । २५.११५

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A

* References to Maṅkha, and Śc.; to countries mentioned in the foot-notes of Ch. VIII and the words in the Appendices are not included in the Index. References to words repeated in the foot-notes are also ignored. The order followed in the Index is that of English alphabet.

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21	34	Mahāmäheśvara	Mahāmāheśvara
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57	21	Vijñānavadins	Vijñānavādins
63	21	कैलासशैलभुवने	कैलासशैलभवने
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74	16, 19	Shāḍipūr	Sh underlined
74	20	Shahābuddīnpūr	Sh underlined
74	21, 23	Shahābuddīn	Sh underlined
75	27	Hari-Prabat	Hari-Parbat
97	38	सचिवेर्	सचिवैर्
101	34	in the time of	at the time of
104	19	Aśvaghośa	Aśvaghoṣa
116	12	Apampati	Apāmpati
117	38	Tripurās	Tripuras
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